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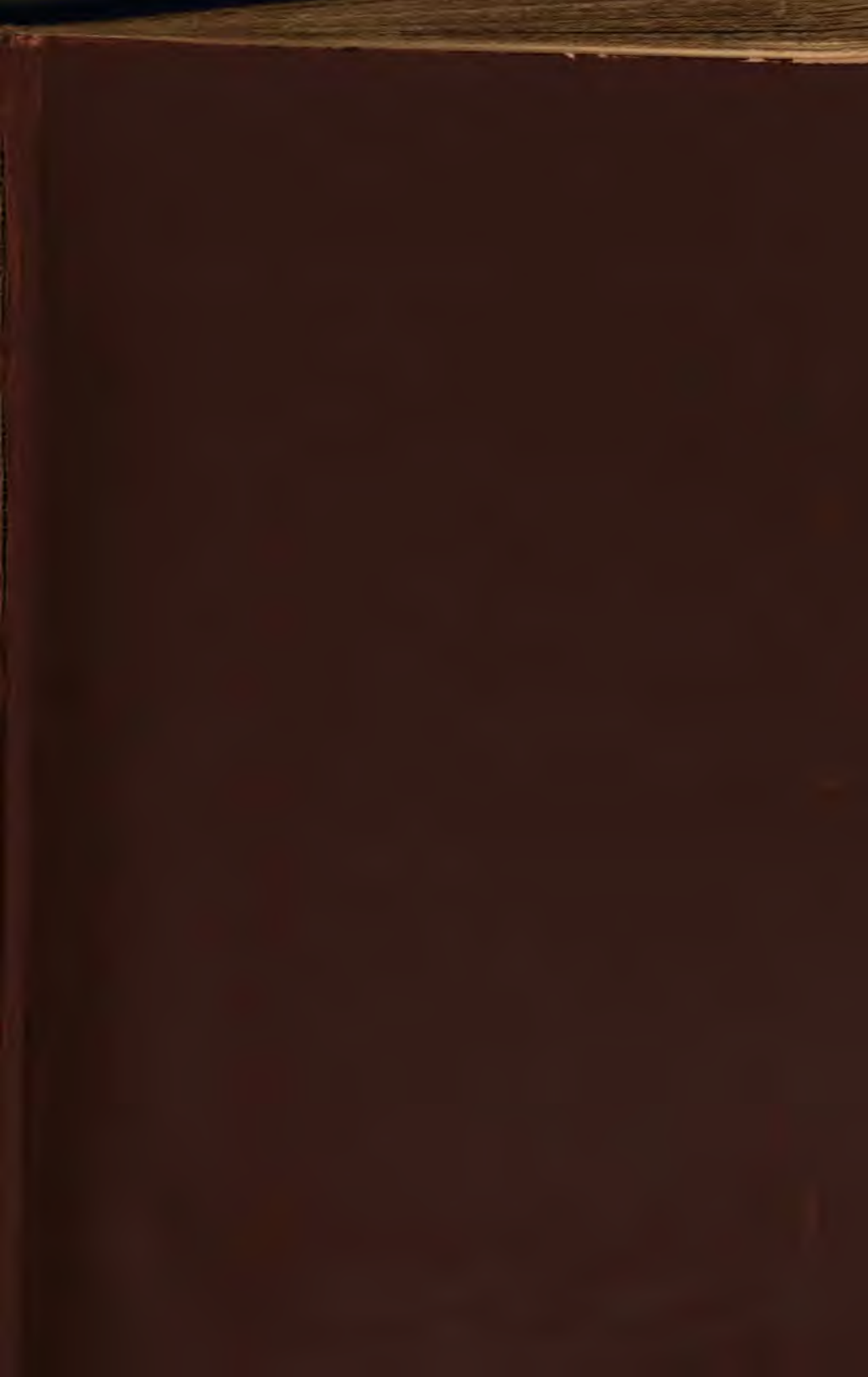
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London 8 543

RECORDS  
OF  
ST. GILES' CRIPPLEGATE.

#### ERRATA

The reader is requested to correct some errors which, through the writer's absence from London whilst part of this volume was passing through the press, escaped notice.

At p. 10, note 2, for *Londonopolis*, read *Londinopolis*.

" „ 37, line 4, for 1580 read 1587.

" „ 27 and pp. 46, 51, in notes, for *Londonense* read *Londinense*.

" „ 76, line 23, for Edward read Edmund.

" „ 85, line 1, for brought read bought.

Other obvious misprints the reader will please to note and correct for himself: I can but regret them.

RECORDS  
OF  
ST. GILES' CRIPPLEGATE.

BY THE  
REV. W. DENTON, M.A.

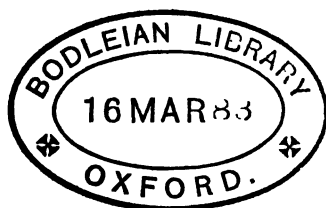
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FRANCIS A. HANCOCK, PRINTER,  
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CRIPPLEGATE, E.C.



THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

TO MR. JAMES BOARDMAN, AND

MR. FRANCIS A. HANCOCK

CHURCHWARDENS OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S, CRIPPLEGATE,

WITH THE ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF

THE READY HELP GIVEN BY THEM IN THE

MANAGEMENT OF THE PARISH.



## PREFACE.

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THIS little volume owes its origin to a series of papers which were written for publication in a local newspaper. In their preparation I had no further objects in my mind than to comply with the wishes of the printer, and to interest the readers of the paper with a brief account of the history of their own parish. Some of those readers have asked for the republication of these papers in the form in which they now appear; and in acceding to their wish, I have endeavoured to make them more worthy of the longer life to which they are called, without losing sight of the chief object for which they were written. In my desire to make this volume a truthful and interesting account of the growth and fortunes of the parish, I have had in view neither antiquaries nor critics, but readers who can look forth from their shops or offices upon the streets of their antient parish, and who will feel an interest in hearing of the early state of the place in which they live, and of its progress from the days when it was a waste outside the City Gates.

Even so small a record as that contained in this book cannot be made without the co-operation of others; and it is my duty to acknowledge the kindness of the Committee of the City Library, Guildhall, in permitting me to copy the map appended to this volume, and the courtesy of the Vicar

of St. Giles in allowing unlimited access to the Register Books of the Parish, as well as the care with which the Rev. James Christie, Curate of St. Bartholomew's, has examined these registers. To Messrs. Whitbread my thanks are due for the answers to my questions as to the growth of the large brewery with which their name is associated, and to other friends for assistance, freely rendered, during the progress of this volume.





## ST. GILES WITHOUT CRIPPLEGATE.

### CHAPTER THE FIRST

#### *The Site.*

**A**S in other kinds of writing so in history: the first difficulty, after collecting materials, is how to commence. Some chroniclers have overcome this by beginning with the first year of the Christian *Æra*, others with greater consistency have commenced their narratives with the Creation of the world, and by a gradual descent have come down through long ages to speak of their own times and of their own parish or village. I shall not try the patience of my readers by taking them back to the year One *Anno mundi*; nor even to the year One *Anno Domini*; enough if I ask the people who dwell in Fore Street and by the London Wall to begin with me the history of their parish of St. Giles Cripplegate after the

Roman Walls had been built round the City<sup>1</sup> and at a time when a Roman detachment of soldiers kept watch and ward in London, and adventurous British mariners navigated their small and fragile vessels between Dowgate and the coasts of France and Flanders. I shall not adventure upon præ-historic times.

First, however, let me say a few words as to the ground on which this parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate stands, and of its relations to the City of which it forms no unimportant part.

Some have thought that the name "London" is derived from two old British words, meaning the "place of boats," and that this name was given because of the commerce which even in early times enriched our City.<sup>2</sup> Others, conjecture that the name is derived from *Llyn* and *Din* or *Dinas*, meaning the "place or fortress in the lake."<sup>3</sup> This latter etymology is very likely to be the true one. Either is characteristic. London was advantageously placed both for the commerce and the defence of England. In the days of the first inhabitants of this country of whom we have any record, the ancient Britons, and indeed almost until the time of the Normans, London seemed to stand in a lake, and to bar the entrance to the Valley of the Thames. What we have just done from Westminster to Blackfriars, the Romans did for many a mile in the reaches of the course of the Thames. Until, however, the river had been embanked, the water spread itself in shallow inundations on both sides of the bed of the stream; and when the Thames reached

<sup>1</sup> "Probably raised by Theodosius." J. R. Green, *The Making of England*, p. 105. Mr. Elton, however, says "The Roman Walls of England are believed to have been built by Constantine the Great." *Origins of English History*, p. 315, note.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Brit. in Com. Mid.* <sup>3</sup> Pennant's *London*, page 25, 5th edit.

almost to Camberwell on the one side, and to Whitechapel on the other, it must have resembled a lake far more than a river.<sup>1</sup> Again, on the west-side of the City flowed a stream, the Fleet, then navigable for boats; whilst on the north-side, reaching almost from the valley of the Fleet on one side, to Whitechapel on the other, stretched fens, marshes, and pools, fringed with rushes, and well known to cockney-sportsmen of the olden times as the haunts of wild ducks: so that as late as the time of James I., one of the characters in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour* says, "Because I dwell at Hogsdon, I shall keep company with none but archers of Finsbury, or the citizens that come a ducking to Islington ponds."<sup>2</sup> Beyond this marsh, a writer in the reign of Henry II. tells us, "are fields for pasture and meadow land, interspersed with flowing streams on which stand mills whose clack is very pleasing to the ear. Close by lies an immense forest in which are densely wooded thickets, the coverts for game, stags, fallow-deer, boars, and wild bulls."<sup>3</sup>

London then was anciently a City, with the Thames far wider than at present on the south and part of the east side, the Fleet river on the west, and marshes—sometimes regarded as one and called the "great marsh"—on the

<sup>1</sup> "When the Metropolis was first called Londinium it lay on the shore of a great lake which stretched at high water, if not at all times, from Greenwich to Battersea in length, and in breadth from the Middlesex bank to Deptford, Peckham, Camberwell, Brixton and Clapham; and which received the waters of the Ravensbourne and the Effra." *The Primitive Site of Roman London*, by W. H. Black, pt. 1, p. 6. See also a paper in *The Athenæum*, No. 1683, by Sir George Airy.

<sup>2</sup> Act 1, scene 1. "A piece of ground in the Back-road (Islington) was called the *Ducking-pond field*."—Nelson's *Hist. of Islington*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> This forest once extended to the suburbs of London. The forest at Epping is the remains of this forest.



north, and partially on the east. Whatever might have been the origin of its name, it was literally a City on a peninsula or island, approachable only by water, or by raised causeways and roads.<sup>1</sup> The nature of the ground on three sides obviated the necessity of any defence beyond a wall of moderate strength; this the Romans constructed, raising it to the average height of twenty feet, with a thickness of about ten feet. It was not, however, until long after their days that a ditch was digged to give additional security to the citizens. In the year 1214, when the baronage of England was in array against King John, and the possession of London was of great moment, and the Conference at Runnymede was yet to come, and the Great Charter remained to be wrested from the King, the defences of the city were strengthened and "the ditch without the walls of London of two hundred feet" according to Stow in his Survey, or as the same writer in his Chronicle says "of two hundred and four foot broad," was begun.

Our first introduction then to the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, is to a wild moor, reaching to the walls of the city, and to a broad though shallow sheet of water, forming, in the winter months, the skating place for the citizens. Fitz-Stephen, writing in the time of Henry II., thus speaks of this moor: "When that great marsh which washes the walls of the City on the north side is frozen over, the young men go out in crowds to divert themselves upon the ice. Some having increased their velocity by a run, placing their feet apart and turning their bodies sideways, slide a great way; others make seats of large pieces of ice like mill-stones, and a great

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Guest in *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxiii. J. R. Green, *The Making of England*, pp. 98-116.

number of them running before, and holding each other by the hand, draw one of their companions who is seated on the ice; if at any time they slip in moving so swiftly, all fall down headlong together. Others are more expert in their sports upon the ice, for fitting to, and binding under their feet the shank bone of some animal, and taking in their hands poles shod with iron, which at times they strike against the ice, they are carried along with as great rapidity as a bird flying, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow. Sometimes two of the skaters, having placed themselves a great distance apart by mutual agreement, come together from opposite sides: they meet, raise their poles, and strike each other; either one or both of them fall, not without some bodily hurt; when both of them fall they are carried along to a great distance from each other by the velocity of the motion, and whatever part of their heads come in contact with the ice is laid open to the very skull. Very frequently the leg or arm of the falling party, if he chances to light upon either of them, is broken."<sup>1</sup>

From the minuteness of these details of Fitz-Stephen, we may gather that skating was, in this country, a novel amusement in his time. The shank-bones, which this writer tells us were used for skates, were well adapted for this purpose, as those which have been dug up from time to time near Finsbury Circus satisfactorily prove.<sup>2</sup>

This was the aspect of a large part of St. Giles Cripple-gate during winter. In summer it deserved the ill name

<sup>1</sup> Stephanides (Fitz-Stephen) in Stow's *Survey of London*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Saga of Sigurd, Eystein and Olaf, we read that Eystein was able to beat his brother Sigurd by skating on ice legs (*is leggiom*) which is explained to be "the shin-bones of sheep strapped on as skates."—Elton's *Norway, the Road and the Fell*, p. 89.

it bore, for this great marsh or fen was one cause of the plague, which raged in the close alleys and undrained streets of the city, and carried off large numbers of people. To use the words of a chronicler, it was "a rotten moorish ground,"<sup>1</sup> through which two or three shallow streams wound their sluggish way; the chief of these flowed through the City, and fell into the Thames near Dowgate, and from the circumstance of its passing under the City Wall, came its name, "The Wall Brook."<sup>2</sup> As London was in these early times entirely undrained, except by nature, this part of the fen absorbed a large portion of the sewage of the City, and the space lying between the wall and the higher ground of Finsbury was occupied with pools of stagnant water, dotted over with reeds, and tufts of rank grass, forming a melancholy sweep of swamp and rushes. People who came from the confined streets and alleys of the City to live in this part of the suburbs found "more elbow room" but "scant better air" than within the walls.<sup>3</sup> So stagnant and desolate indeed was the whole region, that Shakespeare uses the "melancholy of Moreditch"<sup>4</sup> as a proverbial expression. Some idea of the swampy nature of the whole ground in front of the City wall on the north side, and of the depth of the pools which dotted the surface, is given us in Stow's Chronicles,

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> Howell in his *Londonopolis*, p. 301, speaks of the Ward of Cripplegate, as extending from "the grates made for the water-course of the channels, west to the Cripplegate." This brook appears to have had its source near the Perilous Pool, beyond Old Street. Nelson, in his *History of Islington*, published in 1823, says—"The stream of Walbrook, about twenty years ago, turned a lead mill belonging to Mr. Pearce, plumber, in the City Road."—P. 3, note.

<sup>3</sup> Chamberlain's *Letters in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> 1st part *Henry IV.*, act i. scene 2.

where we read that in 1244, a woman, Anne of Lodbury, or Lothbury, as we now call it, was accidentally drowned in a pool in St. Giles' churchyard. Again, as late as 1556, we read of a woman dwelling beside the Swan with Two-Necks, at Milk Street End, coming and drowning herself in one of the ditches of Moorfield.<sup>1</sup> Indeed the whole ground was so spongy that, a dramatist tells us, benighted citizens often fell into these pools while attempting to chase the treacherous Jack-o'-lantern on the very place where Finsbury Square now stands. Let me add that this happened chiefly to roysterers, when trying to make their way home before the closing of the City Gates, from the too attractive ale gardens for which, in the olden times, Hogsdon and Isledon were celebrated.<sup>2</sup>

The first decided attempt to reclaim this tract of land was made in the year 1414, during the mayoralty of Thomas Fauconer. Till that time Bishopsgate and Cripplegate were the only gates by which the City could be entered on this side. Fauconer broke through the City wall, erected a small gate called a postern, near the entrance of what is now Moorgate Street, and constructed a causeway across the marsh, so that foot passengers going from the City towards Hogsdon could at least walk dry-shod. This causeway, together with ditches dug for the purpose of draining the moor, greatly improved Moorfields. Up to that time these fields had been of so little value that, in

<sup>1</sup> "The v. day of August (1556) dyd drowne herseylyf in More-feldes, in corner by the tre, a woman dwellynge besyde the Swane with the ij nekes, at Mylke Street end."—*Machyn's Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> "The iiij day of January (1557), at nyght, were serten feyres seen in Fynsbere feyld and in More-feld, at the Wynd-mylle, and at the Doge-howse, and in gardens by mony men, and yt was sene at Damanes Cler (Dame Agnes Clare) and mo plases."—*Machyn's Diary*.

the reign of Edward II., the whole tract of land from Bishopsgate and Cripplegate, and as far back as Old Street Road on the north, was let for four marks a year (£2 18s. 4d.) a sum equivalent to between fifty and sixty pounds of our present money.

At the Norman conquest, the whole moor, probably because it was a waste, was held to belong to the Crown, and was given or confirmed by William I., to the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-grand. In his charter to that church, the king, after reciting grants already made by Ingelric and others comprising great part of the Moor, adds, "Moreover also, on my own part, I give and grant to this said church, for the redemption of the souls of my father and mother, all the land and moor without the postern, (*extra posterulam*) which is called Cripelesgate, on either side of the postern, to wit, from the northern angle of the City wall, where a rivulet of springs near thereto flowing marks the moor out from the wall as far as the running water which enters the City . . . exempt from all royal service." Probably the latter was in reality the only gift made by the Crown: the land had been already given by Ingelric.<sup>1</sup> There was at that time no church at Cripplegate, and we gather from the silence of the charter that there were no houses outside the gate; the parish was merely a part of the Moor. "It was not," to use the words of Stow, "until the reign of William the Conqueror and his son William Rufus, some houses were builded along east and west thwart before the said gate that a church was builded for the use of the inhabitants."

<sup>1</sup> Kempe's *Historical Notices of St. Martin-le-Grand*, p. 174.

App. to *Twenty-ninth Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records*, 1868, p. 42.

Until the middle of the fourteenth century, population increased but slowly outside the City walls, as it did in other parts of England. It grew more rapidly during the prosperous reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. Then came the rebellion of Bruce, the war with Scotland, and the long purposeless wars with France, which lasted with some short intervals of truce, rather than of peace, for upwards of one hundred years. These wars drew after them retribution in more forms than one. The latter half of the fourteenth century was marked with at least five terrible outbreaks of pestilence, in which more than two-thirds of the nation were swept away.<sup>1</sup> The Churchyards of London were unable to receive the bodies of those who had died in these visitations. Trenches were dug in the fields, and the dead thrown into vast holes, with no mourning attendants and no religious services. That part of the open field on which now stands Charterhouse Square and the Merchant Taylors' Schools was bought by Sir Walter Manny and others, and appropriated for a grave yard for those dying of the "black death" as the plague of 1349 was called.<sup>2</sup> Fifty thousand bodies are said to have been thrown into this one burial place. The next century was one of almost continuous plague, every five years the Chroniclers record "a great death." Murrain or cattle plague, which swept off even geese from the village green, and bees from the Cottars' gardens, destroyed great part of the live stock of the nation. The air was tainted with the rotten carcases of cattle. Dogs

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1348-49.    A.D. 1361.    A.D. 1368.    A.D. 1370-71.    A.D. 1381-82.

<sup>2</sup> Barnes's *Life and Reign of Edward III.* Chron. Galfridi le Baker, p. 189. Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages.—The Black Death*,

and ravens which fed on the dead bodies died, and birds on the wing dropped dead to the earth as they attempted to pass through the poisonous air.<sup>1</sup> Famine was now added to the horrors of war and pestilence.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that the population of England decreased, that villages were extinguished, that towns decayed into villages, and that the cities shrunk to smaller dimensions than they had attained at the end of the thirteenth century. Now we read of void spaces inside the walls of London, a large orchard stretched from the north of the Cheapside, almost to the City Wall, by Aldermanbury postern, and the memory of this tract of fruit trees is preserved in the name of St. Martin Pomery or "the apple-garth."<sup>2</sup>

With large spaces within its walls unfilled, there was not much inducement for honest men to live outside. The site was uninviting; the present parish of St. Giles was long a dreary moor cut off from the City by a wall and ditch of more than two hundred feet wide, an open sewer filled with all the abominations of an undrained City, which scattered pestilence and death on all sides. None lived there who could live within the walls and have the advantage of such imperfect security as the City watch and the City walls afforded by night, and the bustle of City commerce gave by day. Besides this, citizens then had duties to perform within the walls, ward and parish

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iv. page 90. Oliver's *Monast. Exon* in App. Walsingham *Hist. Ang. Report of Hist. Commission MSS.*, vol. vi. p. 565.

<sup>2</sup> "In Ironmonger-lane is the small parish church of St. Martin's, called Pomary, supposed to be of apples growing, where houses are now lately built, for myself have seen large wide places there." Stow's *Survey*.

offices to fill, only to be done by residents, to share in the nightly watch, and guard the gates, and man the walls, and defend the city in case of siege. Unless they lived within the walls they might be struck off the roll of citizens at a time when to be a freeman of London was a substantial privilege, so that it might well be that "Cottages within the walls seemed to please and accommodate them better than stately houses without."<sup>1</sup>

But though we have no Directory of those early days to tell us who lived in Grub-street or Moor-lane, or along the one side of the street known as Fore-street, because it stood before the Wall, we can yet glean, from one document or another, information as to the kind of population which dwelt in Cripplegate Without, at the time this parish was growing into importance. Foreigners, unless they lived in Lombard-street, or were sheltered within the defences of the Steel-yard in Thames-street, had a hard life of it in the City,<sup>2</sup> and were roughly treated by the riotous City apprentices, and put to death without mercy in every outbreak of the City mob; and such outbreaks were but too frequent in the middle ages. Foreigners again were not always allowed to live within the walls of London, and, for these reasons, were glad sometimes to find shelter among the criminal and half-criminal population dwelling without the City.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Roll's *London's Resurrection*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Lappenberg's *Geschichte des Hansischen Stahlhofes zu Londons. Pauli's Bilder aus alt England*, ch. 6. Gotha, 1860.

<sup>3</sup> The French Saddler in Grubb-street, 1307. Riley's *Memorials, of London*, p. xii. Tanners in Moor-lane, 1309, *ib.*

1672. January 24, Magdalen Price, *alias* Rogers, burnt in Smithfield for clipping coin in Tenter Alley, in the Moorfields."—Smyth's *Obituary*.



It was perhaps because of the lawless character of the settlers on the moor outside Cripplegate, that executions frequently took place there, though we have no evidence to make us believe that the sight of thieves or murderers dangling in their chains in Moorfields had any deterrent effect upon its criminal population.<sup>1</sup>

Gradually there grew up in the early part of the middle ages a population of tanners and skinners, catgut makers, tallow melters, dealers in old clothes, receivers of stolen goods, charcoal sellers, makers of sham jewellery, coiners, clippers of coin and silver refiners, who kept their melting-pot ready day and night for any silver plate that might come to hand, toilers in noisome trades and dishonest dealers. Down to later times ale and beer houses of the worst reputation, and yet even worse than such reputation, stood at the edge of the moor, where, despite the City authorities, gambling was always going on.<sup>2</sup> In these tippling houses the City apprentices could swagger with their masters goods and drink down the fruits of robbery without much fear of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. Even murder was not unfrequent, and was seldom enquired into and punished. Forgers of seals, of bills, of writs, professional pick-purses, sharpers and other thieves, conjurors, wizards and fortune tellers, beggars and harlots found a refuge here. At the back of the street towards the end of Moor-lane lay several Tenter grounds, where cloth might be stretched until, as we are told, eighteen yards would come out full twenty or even twenty-

<sup>1</sup> See for example Stow's *Chronicle*, *sub. anno* 1529, and again under 1540.

<sup>2</sup> See the references in the early Dramatists for the character of the population of Cripplegate Without.

seven yards,<sup>1</sup> and unwary customers, disgusted with the fraudulent cloth they bought, were driven to purchase foreign goods, which had been examined at the custom house, and thus avoid the shameless cheating, too common in the home markets.

We have plenty of trade lies, trade cheating to answer for in these days; however, we are mistaken if we suppose that such acts are peculiar to our own times: the widespread dishonesty of the middle ages hardly admits of exaggeration.<sup>2</sup>

A case which occurs in the Police reports of 1571, the twelfth year of Elizabeth, may be cited as illustrating the state of the parish in more ways than one, and also the crimes and punishments then in use. In the words of the official report, "Timothy Penredd, late of London, Yeoman, was indicted at Guildhall for that in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, he forged and counterfeited a certain seal with the effigies of the Queen on the one part and the Royal Arms on the other, in the likeness of the seal of the Queen in her court commonly called in English, *The Kinges Benche Seale*, and forged certain writs commonly called the *Latitats of the King's Bench*, and signed and sealed such counterfeited writs and delivered two such forged writs to John Bouncard, with the intention that he should deliver the same to the Sheriffs of London, for the purpose of arresting the persons therein named." At the same time Thomas Erle, Yeoman, of St. Giles, was arraigned for having "willingly concealed and secreted" Timothy the accused. For this offence Penredd was

<sup>1</sup> Latimer's third sermon before Edward VI. *Piers Plowman's Vision*, line 2893, ed. Wright.

<sup>2</sup> See Pike's *History of Crime*.—Mullinger's *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times*.

sentenced to stand in the Pillory in Cheapside, on two successive market days, and on the first of such days he is to have one ear nailed to the pillory and on the second day his other ear is to be nailed to the pillory, in such manner that he should by his own proper motion be compelled to tear away his two ears from the pillory.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will not fail to note the evidence we have here of the half-agricultural character of the parish at this time: these offenders are both described as Yeomen. There were still grazing ground and tillage lands within the parish boundaries.

And what were the houses which up to the end of the middle ages, that is up to the beginning of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1500), were tenanted by the inhabitants of St. Giles Cripplegate. Many of them were not better than wooden sheds; some few, indeed, rose to the dignity of possessing a story over the basement: these were, however, but few in number. The rooms were low, the walls were of clay or loam dug from the soil of the moor and strengthened by fern and rushes. The rooms on the ground had no floor, except the earth on which the house was built. Few of these houses possessed any glass in the holes called windows—fewer still had any chimneys, and most of them, even at the beginning of the sixteenth century, were covered with thatch. If the house possessed a room for sleeping in on the basement, the floor of this room was oftentimes only a hurdle covered with hay, over which it behoved the tenant to tread gently; usually, however, the tenant with his family slept on the ground. This was covered at most half-a-

<sup>1</sup> *Fourth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*, pp. 266, 267.

dozen times in the year with hay, reeds, or tree toppings, often however without attempting to remove the filth underneath, so that long before the last bundles of what were called rushes were removed, the whole family would live day by day and sleep by night in the midst of a dung-hill of vegetable poison. On these heaps of decaying rushes was thrown at night a sack or truss of straw, and here the wretched men, women and children rested and slept, and were too often struck down by some form or another of virulent typhoid fever, called by the general name of the "plague,"<sup>1</sup> or, worse fate, fell victims to leprosy in its direst forms.

How fragile up to this time most of the houses within and without the walls of London were, may be judged by the direction of the City authorities that each ward beadle of the City should provide himself with a hook at the end of a pole to enable him to pull down a house in order to resist the progress of a fire whenever it threatened to burn other houses. A trough or barrel of water was by the same watchful forethought ordered to stand at the door of every house to quench any accidental fire. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, fires within the walls of the city and fires without were of constant occurrence. Fires and drunkenness, indeed, as in Fitz-Stephen's time, continued to be two of the great evils of London down to the close of the middle ages.<sup>2</sup> If to this we add the

<sup>1</sup> See Erasmus in *Epist.* lib. xxii. epist. 12. Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*.—*The Sweating Sickness*, chap. iii. § 4. Parker's *History of Domestic Architecture in England*. *Our English Home: its early history and progress*. Wright's *History of Domestic Manners and Sentiments in England during the Middle Ages*.

<sup>2</sup> "The only inconveniences of London are, the immoderate drinking of foolish persons and the frequent fires."—*Fitz-Stephen in Stow's Survey of London*.

pestilence, which always lurked in one corner or another of the City, and the number, turbulence and immunity of its criminal population, we have a picture more truthful than attractive of this our good City of London in the olden times.





## CHAPTER THE SECOND.

### *The Church.*

**T**HE parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate derives its name from two things: the church dedicated in memory of St. Giles, and the postern or gate through which was the only access to the City from the moor at the time the church was built.<sup>1</sup> It will therefore be convenient for me to speak of these two representatives of the ecclesiastical and civil history of the parish—first of the church, around which the houses grew, and then of the gate, from which the latter part of the name of the parish is derived.

The first church which was erected in this parish was built about the year 1090 by Alfune, who afterwards became the first Hospitaler or Proctor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. This was about five-and-twenty years after the Norman Conquest, a period remarkable for the number of new churches which were built throughout England. The church in this parish was dedicated in memory of St. Giles,

<sup>1</sup> For the derivation of Cripplegate, see Appendix A.

said to have been a hermit living in the eighth century, who, refusing to be cured of an accidental lameness, was elected as the patron saint of all crippled persons. As cripples as well as lepers congregated in olden times at the entrance of towns and begged from the passengers, churches dedicated to the memory of this saint are usually found near the approaches of a town, and adjoining such a church frequently sprang up a hospital for lepers and for cripples.<sup>1</sup> This church, we are told by Stow, was "at first a small thing and stood in place where now standeth the Vicarage house, but hath been since, at divers times, much enlarged, according as the parish hath increased, and was at the length newly builded, in place where now it standeth." A few years after the erection of this church, Ælmund the priest gave the patronage of the benefice, after the death of himself and his only son, Hugh, to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral. Of this church it has been supposed that no trace remains, parts however of the basement of the present tower, though patched with later work, formerly belonged to the original church of Alfune, and is thus cotemporary with the stately and massive chancel of the Priory Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, in Smithfield. The present building, though old, is much later than the original church. The old Norman church, probably because it was too small for the increasing population outside Cripplegate, was replaced late in the fourteenth century by the present parish church, described by Stow as "large, strongly-built and richly-furnished with ornaments." Though we have no direct evidence of the

<sup>1</sup> There are 146 churches with this dedication in England, and 18 in Belgium. Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, s. n. *Ægidius*. Butler's *Lives of the Saints*. Foster's *Perennial Calendar*, and the *Calendrier Belge*, under Sept. 1st.

date of its erection, an incidental entry in a document connected with the old manor of the Savoy enables us to fix the probable period of the present church.

In the account of the sale of timber from Wild Wood Park in the 16 Richard II. (A.D.1392-98) occurs this item,

"Per 43s. received from the Churchwardens of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, for four load and a half [of timber] to them sold."<sup>1</sup>

This purchase of timber by the Churchwardens could hardly have been made for any other purpose than the rebuilding of the parish church, which we know took place about this time.

Whether on account of the nature of the ground or of the neighbourhood of the City ditch, the present church exhibits some irregularities. Its extreme length on the north is 117 feet 6 inches; but at the south only 113 feet 2 inches; from its north wall to the east column of the nave is 18 feet 2 inches; from the south wall to the column at its western extremity it is 16 feet 9 inches, and at the east end, 13 feet 5 inches; the width of the church at the west end is 64 feet 9 inches, whilst at the east end it is only 57 feet 8 inches. The chancel presents the same kind of irregularity as the nave—at the north side it is 11 feet 10 inches, and on the south side 13 feet 1 inch.<sup>2</sup> In 1545, in the reign of Henry VIII. this church was partially destroyed by fire, when the greater part of the tower, together with the roof of the church, and the tracery and ornamental portions of the building perished. In a short cotemporary "London Chronicle" we have the following notice of this fire: "The xij day of

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Miller's *London before the Fire of 1666*, p. 47.



September, Saturday, in the mornyng, about five of the klock, was Saynt Jyles's Church burnd, belles and alle, w<sup>t</sup>out Crepellegate."<sup>1</sup> Or, as another chronicler tells us, "*Item.* The xij day of September, of iiij cloke in the mornyng, was Sent Gylles's church at Creppyllgate burned alle hole save the walles, stepall, belles, and alle, and how it came God knoweth."<sup>2</sup> In three hours the church was destroyed. We are told by one who was probably an eye-witness that the fire was "out before seven o'clock in the same morning, the stone wall onlie saved, which could not burne."<sup>3</sup> "By which mischance," as Stow tells us, "the monuments in the church are very few."<sup>4</sup>

The monuments in this church were numerous before the fire of 1545, and many of them must have been of great historical interest. The parish was a suburban one, and during the latter part of the middle ages was thought to be admirably situated for the residences of the gentry, and even of the nobility. Within the gate and without were the town houses of noblemen, of abbots and priors, and of wealthy land owners. Here was the burial-place of the Greys, Earls of Kent. Members of the families of Lucy of Charlecot, of Bouchier, and of Egerton, found their last resting-place here; and the register-books contain the names of men rich in literary honours, as well as in great titles, broad lands and gold pieces. It was a popular church for fashionable funerals, and as a consequence even the quiet tradesmen of the parish strove to emulate the grandeur of their noble neighbours. It was natural

<sup>1</sup> *Camden Society's Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Grey Friars*, p. 25 (Camden Soc.) See also a short chronicle in *Reliq. Antiq.*, vol. ii. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Wriothesley's Chronicle*.

<sup>4</sup> *Survey of London*.

that the "gentle Knight" Sir Harry Grey, "brother unto the Earl of Kent," himself indeed Earl of Kent according to the laws of the realm (though it seemed to him, with his slender means to be but a mockery to bear such a title,<sup>1</sup>) should have "two heralds of arms," and "standard and banner of arms" with Rouge Croix to bear his helm, and Clarencieux to carry his coat of arms and attend his body to the tomb, "with clarkes singing." It was fitting that Thomas Halley, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, who in virtue of his office had attended many others to their last resting-place, should be borne to his own grave in the parish church "with coat armour and pennon of arms, and escutcheons of his arms," and that the heralds should go across the street to Master Greenhill, "my Lord Cardinal's wax-chandler,"<sup>2</sup> and have "spice bread and cheese and wine, great plenty." But the inevitable result of all this was that when Master Greenhill died, the year after this, he was buried amid even greater pomp, "and after mass done, there was a great dinner and supper at his owne house," and plain parish shopkeepers desired to be buried with like martial pomp and with at least equal expense; and so we read of "Baptist Borrow, the milliner, Without Cripplegate, in St. Giles's parish," that he likewise, man of peace as he was, was carried forth from his shop "with a pennon, coat armour, and herald, and with twenty-three staff-torches, and so twenty-three poor men bore them, and many mourners in black, and the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Grey, of Wrest, by reason of his slender estate, declined to take upon him the title of Earl of Kent, and having married Anne the daughter of John Blanerhasset, died 24th September anno 1562, and was buried in the church of St. Giles Without Cripplegate. Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 718.

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Pole.

Company of the Clerks were there, and the place was hanged with black and arms six dozen." And, doubtless, Master Baptist Borrow had a tomb corresponding to all this display, and a helmet and armour hanging in one of the aisles of the church, though he had dealt in nothing more warlike than ruffs, and bodices, and woman's attire.

Even as late as 1672 Smyth records in his Obituary that Cornelius Bee, a well-known bookseller of Little Britain, was buried "at Great St. Bartholomew's without a sermon, without wine or waffers, only gloves and rosemary," as though the omission of burial feast and mourning rings and funeral sermon was still of rare occurrence.

Many persons who in their life-time were men and women of importance, and whose names are still remembered and possess some interest to the historical student, were buried in this church, or in one of the churchyards belonging to the parish. Amongst their names I will only mention those of Sir John Wriothesley, Garter King-at-Arms, from his mansion in the Barbican; Thomas Halley, Clarencieux King-at-Arms; "Mayster [Richard] Bullen, y<sup>e</sup> faithful preacher of God's most holy word in 1568," and his brother Mr. William Bullen or Boleyme, physician, in 1576, who was one of our earliest writers on medicine, and on the medicinal virtues of herbs.<sup>1</sup> Robert Crowley, sometime Vicar of this parish, who died in 1588, a stirring character in the days of Queen Mary and her sister Elizabeth, was laid to rest in his own church. Here also was buried, in 1594, the stout old admiral Sir Martin Frobisher, distinguished both as an enterprising arctic discoverer and as a gallant seaman

<sup>1</sup> Oldys has written his life with an account of his various publications in *Biog. Britannica*. *Diary of William Oldys* by Thoms, p. xxx.

at the time of the Spanish Armada. From his house in Grubb street, the learned antiquary, John Foxe, writer of the "Acts and Monuments of the English Church," was borne to his burial in the Church in 1580; and near him lies the dust of the skilful antiquary Robert Glover, Somerset Herald in 1588.<sup>1</sup> In 1629 was buried here "Mr. John Speed, Merchant Taylor," a painstaking chronicler, with his wife the fruitful mother of twelve sons and six daughters, as the inscription on their tomb tells us;<sup>2</sup> and, greatest name of all, on November 12, 1674, "John Milton, Gentleman," who died, as the register tells us, of "consumption," was buried in this church. And, not to mention other names connected with history or literature, John Bunyan, who wrote the "Pilgrim's Progress," and Daniel de Foe, who died in Ropemaker's Alley, the author of the most popular romance in our language, "Robinson Crusoe," were both buried in this parish, in what was then called Tyndale's burial ground, but known at present as Bunhill fields.

Were this a volume of obituary notices, other names might be added to these, of persons remarkable chiefly for notoriety or eccentricity.<sup>3</sup> These, however, must be passed over in our brief survey of the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, with the exception of that of Doctor Francis Joseph Pahun de Valangin, a Swiss, who after being attached to the Embassy at Madrid, settled as a physician

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from the Bodleian Library*, vol. ii. p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Newcourt's Repertorium Londonense*, vol. i. p. 356.

<sup>3</sup> "In the *Stamford Mercury*, August 12, 1728, is the following curious announcement, "This evening old Nan, who begged about the streets of London, was buried from her habitation at Mount Mill near Islington, at Cripplegate Church, by the Company of Exeter change, about £500 in specie being found in her trunk after her decease."—*Plant's Htsi. of Clerkenwell*, p. 682.

as a physician in Fore Street, about 1770, where he acquired an extensive practice. His philanthropy was at least as great as his eccentricities. He died from the effects of a fall from his carriage, and was buried here March 1805.<sup>1</sup>

With but two noteworthy exceptions, I omit any notice of the well-known names which are found in the baptismal and marriage registers. The baptismal register has an entry in October, 1624, of a child born at Somerset house, and baptised in this church by the name of Robert Wright. This quiet entry covers a great scandal in a time of great scandals. Lady Coke, the wife of the celebrated lawyer Sir Edward Coke, had attained the object of her ambition when she had married her daughter Frances to John Baron Villiers of Stoke and Viscount Purbeck brother of the great favourite George Duke of Buckingham. The marriage forced upon the young lady was an unhappy one. She soon parted from her husband and lived in adultery with Sir Thomas Howard a dissolute courtier of a dissolute court. She was sentenced by the High Commission Court to do penance after the birth of this child, and only escaped by concealing herself.<sup>2</sup> Four years before this, the register books record a marriage that might have produced a dynasty of sovereigns: on August 29 1620, Oliver Cromwell, then an almost unknown brewer at Huntingdon, was married to Elizabeth Bouchier in this our church of St. Giles.

If the antiquary has cause to regret the tombs which were destroyed by the fire of 1545, the church of St.

<sup>1</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxv. (1805), pt. i. p. 291 for notice of Dr. de Valangin.

<sup>2</sup> Collins' *Baronage. Court and Times of James the First*, vol. i. 460, 467, vol. ii. p. 20, 24, 34, 36, 46, 49, 56, 497, 505, 508.

Giles's suffered at other times in more ways than in the loss of its monuments. Moralizing on the fire of 1545, Malcolm has these remarks: "The tower is an antient and most respectable pile of Gothic architecture, with its graceful arches, uniting dignity and strength both within and without. I will say nothing of the finishing at the top. When the body of the church can be seen in its original state, we are inclined to wish it had never been consumed or needed repair."<sup>1</sup> The alterations were made at various times. In 1623 the roof of the chancel was repaired externally and the ceiling "very curiously clouded." In 1629 the steeple was found to be much decayed and was accordingly repaired. Four spires which stood at the angles of the tower were taken down and rebuilt with timber covered with lead, and raised to a greater height than before, and are said to have been "stately, eminent, and graceful in appearance." From the crown of an arch springing from these four spires rose a turret which was an additional feature to the tower.

These spires and turrets were not destined to remain long. Little more than fifty years after they had been erected they were found to be decayed and were taken down and a cupola of timber covered with lead substituted in place of the original steeple and of the spire and turret built in 1629.<sup>2</sup> This last incongruous addition to the tower was made in 1683. At the same time two galleries were erected: that on the north side at the expense of the parish; that on the south at the coast of Mr. Worrell, a parishioner. The small east gallery was not erected till 1703. At a Vestry held 20th September, 1682, it was—

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iii. p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 355.

"Ordered, by the general consent of the gentlemen of the Vestry, that the steeple be raised fifteen foot higher, and new cased, and a new clock and chimes made, a new frame for the bells, and a new gallery be forthwith built."

As the first Earl of Bridgewater, who lived at Bridgewater house in the Barbican, "was an indefatigable ringer,"<sup>1</sup> the attention paid by the parishioners to the bells and steeple of St. Giles probably owed somewhat to this fact, while his taste would be fostered by the goodness of the music which pealed from the old tower of his parish church.

The year following, in 1688, when at a Vestry held on the 24th of August the order to raise the steeple fifteen feet higher was given, it was also—

"Ordered, that the third, sixth, and biggest bells be forthwith cast and made tuneable to ring in peale to answer the other."

Two years after this, on the 28th of March 1685, the fifth bell was directed to be cast by the same bell founder—Mr. Whiteman. Some of the present bells cast by Pack and Chapman<sup>a</sup> bear the date of 1772. The chimes, considered by many persons to be the best in London,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from the Bodleian Library*, vol. ii. p. 340.

<sup>a</sup> The inscriptions on six of these bells are:—

- 6th bell. Ye people all who hear me ring,  
Be faithful to your God and King.
  - 7th bell. Whilst thus we join in cheerful sound,  
May love and loyalty abound.
  - 8th bell. Peace and good neighbourhood.
  - 9th bell. Our voices shall in concert ring  
In honour both of God and King.
  - 10th bell. In wedlock's bands all ye who join,  
With hands your hearts unite,  
So shall our tuneful tongues combine,  
To laud the nuptial rite.
  - 11th bell. Ye ringers all that prize your health and happiness,  
Be sober, merry, wise, and you'll the same possess.
- The tenor bell bears the name of the contractor, founder, churchwardens, alderman, deputy, and three of the Common Council. It weighs 36 cwt. 1 qr. 24 lbs., and was made in 1787.

were made in 1795 by George Harman of High Wycombe, a cooper by trade, but a very successful amateur clock and chime maker.<sup>1</sup> These chimes were repaired and some alterations made to them by an order of the Vestry in 1849.

In former times the tenor bell tolled an hundred and one strokes daily at nine o'clock in the morning, and probably the same number of strokes in the evening as "The Curfew Bell."<sup>2</sup>

In the belfry are twelve bells, besides one other in the turret. Only one other church in the City—St. Bride's, Fleet Street, and only three other churches in the rest of London, *i.e.* St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Saviour's, Southwark, and St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, have so many bells as this.<sup>3</sup>

There were three burial-grounds in the parish over which the Vestry seems to have exercised considerable control: the churchyard lying round St. Giles's Church, called the Lower Burial-ground, which was enlarged by the additions in 1662 of a piece of ground south of the church near Crowder's well, and by another addition in 1667. One in Whitecross Street, known by the name of the Bear and Ragged Staff Burial-ground, also as the Upper churchyard; and one lying adjacent to the Pest House, where the poor of the parish were for the most part buried. In addition to these three there were at least three others: Tyndale's or Bunhill Fields Burial-ground, and one at Bedlam, over both

<sup>1</sup> "The chimes play seven tunes on the twelve bells, and change the tunes at mid-day while playing, so that two tunes are played every day at noon."—Miller's *London before the Fire*.

<sup>2</sup> "If any member of the quest is absent at nine o'clock a.m. of the day of meeting, or when the great tenor bell has tolled an hundred and one strokes, he shall pay 1s. fine."

<sup>3</sup> Timbs' *Curiosities of London*.



of which the parish clerk possessed some authority,<sup>1</sup> and one belonging to the Society of Friends in which rested, perhaps still rests, the dust of George Fox. It is now disused for burials, and has been in part built over.

A guild or brotherhood, a kind of religious friendly society, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Giles, was founded in this church by "the good Queen Maud" the wife of Henry I.<sup>2</sup> After a time this fell into decay, and was revived in the reign of Edward III. by contributions from John Belancer, William Larke, and Richard Seale, under a new dedication, that of St. Mary, Corpus Christi, and St. Giles.<sup>3</sup>

Amongst the parish revenues one large item consisted of payments for the use of the parish pall or hearse cloth. For many years the chief occupation of the Vestry indeed seems to have been the care and "advancement" of these palls. Innumerable are the entries in the parish-books on this subject. I select a few of them:—

"1659, June 23rd.—Resolved, that there be a very good hearse cloth bought, the cloth not exceeding twenty shillings a yard."

"1677, November 23rd.—Ordered, that the Churchwardens take care forthwith to buy a new hearse cloth, and them that make use of it to pay the sum of two shillings and sixpence."

<sup>1</sup> In the Vestry books of the parish, this order occurs under the date of 3rd Feb., 1674-75:—"That the clerk does not give any certificate for the burial of any corpse which shall be buried either at Mr. Tindall's ground or at Bethlem until he, she, or they do pay the sum of six shillings and sixpence, also 12<sup>d</sup> for the certificate, according to the dues for the churchyard in White Cross street; and in case the said clerk do not observe this order he shall pay the same sum as if he had received it."

<sup>2</sup> Speed's *Chronicle*.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

1681.—Mr. Thomas Bell, surgeon, left a velvet pall to the parish, to be let out at funerals, and the proceeds to be given to the poor; and accordingly, “the gentlemen of the Vestry,” as they are always careful to describe themselves, order—

“That the said pall shall not be let out to any person or persons whatsoever under ten shillings.”

This was a gainful trade, and it is not to be wondered that competition interfered with the arrangements of the Vestry, so that in a Vestry held October 21, 1685, it was directed that if any person “Make use of any pall, either in our parish church or churchyard, except our parish pall, he, she, or they shall pay ten shillings more for the use of the poor of the parish if in the church, and eight shillings more if in the churchyard, above the common dues.”

Yet, notwithstanding this, “stranger palls” came into competition with “our parish pall,” and the poor Vestrymen seem to have been almost driven to their wits’ end to resist this free trade in palls. They tried to underbid their rivals, and to charge excessively for all funerals at which the parish pall was not used, and touted for custom in every possible way. At the Vestry, held 16th October, 1686, it was—

“Ordered, that Mr. Nathan Green, Churchwarden, take care there be about one thousand tickets printed forthwith, and that the rates or prices of each pall be expressed thereon, and that Thomas Charvle disperse the said tickets amongst the inhabitants of this parish on his collecting the tithes for Dr. Fowler, whereby the said inhabitants may be generally informed where to have velvet palls without going further for them.”

After some years, however, the great "parish pall" question ceased. The Vestry found it useless, perhaps impolitic, to contend against free trade in funeral ornaments, and reference to this matter silently disappeared from the parish books.

The Vestry of the parish now consists of the vicar, churchwardens, overseers, sidesmen, and past churchwardens, including all persons who have paid fines instead of serving the offices of upper wardens. Though, at the present time, the Vestry is a select one, it seems to have been formerly open. During Dr. Annesley's incumbency, however, in the time of Cromwell, the ancient right of the inhabitants so to assemble was taken away by order of the Vestry, April 1659. This order seems, however, not to have been rigidly enforced until several years later. At a Vestry held on the 11th of December 1671, it was—

"Ordered, that the Vestry of this parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, doth continue a customary Vestry as formerly it was, and no person to be admitted into it but he that hath actually served the office of Churchwarden, or by his addresses to the whole Vestry, by the payment of a fine shall be admitted, according to an order of Vestry made to this purpose, upon the 3rd day of April, anno Domini 1659."

The Vestry possesses ten pieces of old plate, which in the opinion of judges on such matters are considered of more than average excellence. They consist of two bowls, one of which is a cocoa nut moulded in silver of the date 1568, the rest of the plate consists of four pots or cups, and four goblets, the gift in most instances of parish Vestrymen.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. i.

The register books of baptism, marriages, and burials at St. Giles begin in the year 1561. They have been well kept from their commencement, and from them may be gained a tolerably correct estimate of the growth of the parish, and also of the trade of most of the parishioners. The first volume is of paper; those which succeed are of vellum. The whole of the volumes have been rebound and are in exceptionally good preservation, and reflect great credit upon past vicars and churchwardens.

With some few miscellaneous items I will conclude these notices of the church and services at St. Giles in the past times.

In the books of the Vestry will be found some entries respecting the building of pews, only two of them requiring any notice here.<sup>1</sup> Pews of the self-same kind as we find now were common before the Reformation; it is a very common error to think otherwise. Pews with doors, locks, and keys, pew-rents and all the contrivances by which men are shut out from the house of God, existed at least a hundred years before the accession of Henry VIII.<sup>2</sup> The great time, however, for snug, square, comfortable family pews

<sup>1</sup> In 1510, "elaborate regulations were made by the parish of St. Christopher-le-Stocks respecting the pricing of pews. The prices of the pews vary, according to the number of people they will hold, and according to their nearness to the east end, from 22d. down to 2d. a quarter."—*Archæologia* vol. xlv. *On the Parish Books of St. Margaret's, Lothbury*, by Mr. Edwin Freshfield.

<sup>2</sup> Pew rents were among the abominations inveighed against by church reformers of the sixteenth century. Thus Bale, in his "*Image of both Churches*," a Commentary on the Book of Revelation, says, when noticing the eighteenth chapter, "In their thyne word (whom some men call Algum trees, some brasil, some coral) may be understood all their curious buildings of temples, abbeyes, chapels, and chambers, shrines, images, church stools and all pews that are well paid for." For early notices of Pew doors, see Roper's *Life of More*, p. 54.

was that of the Commonwealth, and the days immediately afterwards. By order of the Vestry "20 Feb. 1663, It was resolved that the parish be at the charge of a pew to be made for Sir Reginald Forster, Baronet, he then paying down at present for the use of the poore three pounds." Sir Reginald was a member of the Vestry, and the owner of house property in the parish.<sup>1</sup> Again at a meeting of the Vestry on 18th of February 1671, it was—

"Ordered, that the six old pews at the lower end of the north isle of the church shall be made into three uniform pews forthwith."

Here we have an instance of the single pew being changed into that most inconvenient and irreverent kind of sitting, the square *vis-a-vis* pew.

The inventories of the furniture of the parish church both inside and outside also present us with some significant items.

At that time the length of the sermon was regulated by an hour glass fixed to the pulpit.<sup>2</sup> We have no notice as to when these were introduced at St. Giles, but in 1651,

<sup>1</sup> *London Friends' Meeting*, p. 332.—In Smyth's *Obituary* are these notices. "1665, Nov. 13. The Lady Blandina Foster, wife of Sir Reginald Foster, buried in Cripplegate Church. 1668. Nov. 16. M<sup>rs</sup> Raynes, widdow, daughter of Sir Reginald Foster, buried in Cripplegate Church. 1675, Sept. 12. Dame Anna Foster, the wife of Sir Reginald Foster, died. Buried 18 Sept. at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate Within."

<sup>2</sup> In the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's Cornhill, 1456 to 1600, is the earliest notices of the use of the hour glass, which I have been able to find—"1552, item for an howre glasse for ye churches, iiijd." It was used at St. Paul's Cross, at least as early as 1612, and in the accounts of the parish of Lambeth in 1579, is the entry "payd, to Yorke for the frame in which the howre standeth, 1s. 4d."—*Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. ix. p. 253. In 1615 is an item for the hour glass 6s. 8d.—*Lysons' Environs of London*, vol. i. p. 314.

we find eightpence spent on mending its half-hour glass; and in 1656 two shillings and sixpence paid for a new hour glass. In an inventory of 1664-5 we find—

“*Item*.—Three hour glasses and one half-hour glass.”

Why there should be three hour glasses I cannot conjecture; perhaps each Churchwarden was presented with one in order to check the tendency of the minister to make long sermons. In the next year's inventory of the goods of the church we have the more curious entry of,—

“*Item*.—Three glasses, one running an hour, another three quarters, and a third half an hour.”

These graduated glasses it is evident were procured in order to enable the minister, who had resolved upon the length of his sermon, to end it when the allotted quantity of sand had run out.<sup>1</sup> They seem to have been introduced after the Reformation, they were not however confined to the reforming party.<sup>2</sup> Whilst these were used within the church, outside there was the same care shewn to economize time; accordingly in 1652 the top of the tower was adorned with a brass sun dial at the very moderate cost of half-a-crown to the parish.

<sup>1</sup> *Wood's Athen, Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> 1564, “Paid for an hour glass that hangeth by the pulpit when the preacher doth make a sermon, that he may know how the hour passeth away. Christ Church at St. Catherine, Aldgate,” *Malcolm's Lond. Rediv.* vol. iii. p. 809. “Something I would speak of too by your patience, it shall not be much because the season is sharp, and I have not much sand to spend.—*Bishop Sanderson's Sermons* (1620).

<sup>3</sup> In a “Relation of the fall of the room at Blackfriars, in which Father Drury the Jesuit was preaching, anno 1623, Oct. 26. ‘Styl vet,’” we read that, “The people being assembled, Drury the priest came with a surplus girt about him, and a stripe of scarlet lying over both his shoulders. One with a book and an hour glass followed him.”—*Court and Times of James the First*, vol. i. p. 428.

In 1650, we find—"Item : One great old stone font, lined with lead ;" but the next year, though there is the same entry of the "old stone font," yet in addition we read of "one small christening font, and wooden cover to it;" something in the way, I presume, of those portable stoneware fonts sometimes called "archdeacons' basins," but evidently larger and of a more costly description, since when this was got rid of in 1664 amongst the Churchwardens' receipts occurs this entry :

"Received for the little font, £1 10 8."

The good "old stone font, lined with lead," had been restored to its proper use two years before, immediately after the appointment of Dr. Dolben, at the Restoration of the Monarchy. Amongst the payments by the Churchwardens in 1662-3 are the following items :—

"Paid to the labourers, when the christening font was set up, £0 2 0."

"Painters—Paid to Leonard Frier, for painting and gilding the cover of the font, for laying the engine in oil, and for work about the christening pewes, and the upper churchyard gate, £5 5 6."

"Masons—Paid to Mr. Thomas Jourdan, for setting up the font, £2 0 0." For 59 foot of black marble (stepp) round about the communion table, at 5s. the foot, £14 15 0."

"Paid to John Andrews, for new wainscott for railing about the communion table, and for stuff for several pews in the church, and a new foreside for a pew by the chancel, and other works about the church, £28 0 0."

"Paid to Mr. Frd. Conney, for a partition of wainscott, and workmanship when the christening pew was in the middle, £1 12 6."

In 1704, "the old font, lined with lead," and which had stood in the church "tyme out of memory," gave place to a new one.

In 1672 an organ was presented to the church by Mrs. Charnock, this however was replaced in 1704 by another built by Renatus Harris, for which we are told he received £400, and the old organ. The new instrument after various repairs, and some new stops added by Bridge, was in 1864 removed from the gallery at the west end of the church, and placed finally in a more appropriate situation on the north side of the chancel.<sup>1</sup> Mellowed as it is by age, it is still a good, well-toned organ.

Amongst the matters scrupled against by the Puritans were these: [1] that the altar was fixed at the east end: they preferring to move it about the church as they thought most convenient; [2] that a stated form of prayer was used: they preferring in all cases extempore prayers; and lastly [3] that a surplice was worn: they desiring that everything in church should be read, sung, and preached in a black or Geneva gown. Hence the following significant items in the inventories of each year from 1651 to 1661.

"*Item.*—A table *for the church*, for the administration of the sacrament."

But in 1664, after the Restoration, this had become:

"*Item.*—A table *for the chancel*, for the administration of the sacrament."

In 1662 at the appointment of Dr. Dolben, the altar was enclosed with rails, and this much controverted question thus set to rest.

As to the Book of Common Prayer, the use of which had been rigidly forbidden during the time of the Common-

<sup>1</sup> *London before the Fire*, by Mr. W. Miller.



wealth, in the Churchwardens' accounts for 1660 (the year of the restoration of Charles II.) occur these charges :

“ A Common Prayer Book for the minister, 14s.”

“ Paid for a Common Prayer Book for the clerk, 5s.”

In the inventory of 1661-2, we meet with :

*Item.*—Two books of Common Prayer.”

And in the Vestry book, with reference to the surplice, there are these entries. Under date 5th September 1662 :

“ It was resolved, there shall bee a surplis provided speedily of holland for the reader.”

Again on the 80th July, 1668 :

“ Resolved, that there be a surplis provided.”

Throughout this time it would seem that the altar cloth and hangings were green, though the cushion in the pulpit was of crimson velvet. Hence among many items on the subject is this one. On the same day as the last entry it was :

“ Resolved, there bee a carpet” or covering “ of green cloth provided for the communion table.”

And so in the next year's inventory we find this entry :

*Item.*—One green cloth carpet for the table.”

In 1666, the year of the fire of London, is an entry of 6s. 8d. expended in the purchase of holly, bay, and ivy for the Christmas decorations.

With three other extracts, from the books of the Vestry, I quit this part of my notice of the parish church :

April 14th, 1735: “ Ordered, that the Churchwardens do in future provide tent for the wine used in the Holy Sacrament.”

Until that time canary wine appears to have been used.

During the time of the Commonwealth there were musterings and drillings of the inhabitants in the churchyard, for the parishioners were at the first very zealous in the cause of the Parliament.<sup>1</sup> As the people, however, tired of the Government of the Protector they grew indifferent to the use of sword and matchlock, and grudged the time and labour spent at the training amongst the graves, so that after ineffectual attempts to keep alive the martial zeal of the parishioners, about a year before the Restoration the Vestry on April 6th 1659 :

“Resolved, to discontinue the military trayning in the churchyard.”

“Resolved, that the military trayning may be continued till Michaelmas next and no longer, provided that they do nothing prejudiciall to the church nor churchyard.”

When the military training in the churchyard had ceased, the vestry became aware of another unseemly use to which it had been put, and ordered, a few years later, “that no more clothes be dried in the churchyard, and that the back doors coming out of the dwelling houses be closed, the Castle Tavern alone excepted for the use of the parish: and that no boys be allowed to go out that way.”

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1862 an earnest effort was made for the restoration of the church somewhat to its pristine state. The removal

<sup>1</sup> “1647, Nov. 29. Information from the Committee of the Militia of London, that a number of persons from the City and suburbs intend to appear this day at the Houses of Parliament, and that the Committee have raised two trayned bands in Cripple-gate Church yard, and Salisbury Court, which will there be in readiness to assist the Parliament in case of danger, if Parliament will please to command them.”—*Lord's Journals*, ix. 546.

of the galleries which disfigured the church, and which with the diminished population of the parish were no longer necessary, was effected. In this year the north and south galleries were taken down, and two years later the west gallery was also taken away. This and the removal of the monuments from the clustered columns to the walls of the church have added greatly to the beauty and solemnity of the building. At the same time stalls were erected in the chancel for the choir, and soon after the organ, as I have already noticed, was transferred to the floor of the church, and placed near the singers. Handsome windows of painted glass replaced the plain glass which for several generations had filled the tracery of these windows, to the disfigurement of the noble architecture of the church.

As late as 1732, according to the Returns of the parish clerks, there were prayers daily in the parish church, in the morning "about a eleven o'clock, and in the evening at eight o'clock." This return adds that "the gift sermons are at six o'clock every Sunday evening and at three every Thursday; both left by Mr. Throckmorton Trotman,<sup>1</sup> and payable by the company of Haberdashers. Six sermons in Lent, one upon All Saints Day."<sup>2</sup>

Adjoining the church of St. Giles stands the Vicarage House, with an outlook over the churchyard. It was built in 1856, during the incumbency of Archdeacon Hale, on the site of the old vicarage, which in 1682 had been

<sup>1</sup> "1664, Oct. 3. Mr. Throgmorton Trotman, merchant, Little Moorfields, Uncle to Secondary Trotman, died.—Smyth's *Obituary*.

<sup>2</sup> *New Remarks of London collected by the Company of Parish Clerks*, 1732. "1663 Sept. 15th. Stephen Fawcett, surgeon in Wood-st. died . . . who in his life time sett up a lecture in St. Giles parish . . . for every week in Lent, a sermon for ever."—Smyth's *Obituary*.

erected by the parish in consideration of Dr. Fowler the Vicar granting a lease of the Quest House, and some adjoining shops and tenements valued at £180 a year, to the Vestry for forty years.





### CHAPTER THE THIRD.

#### *Vicars of the Parish.*

**H**AVING spoken of the material church, let me say a few words about some of the Vicars who have held this benefice. It is remarkable, considering the numerous notices we find respecting the parish, that so little is known of any of the clergy belonging to this church until a comparatively recent period.<sup>1</sup> The following is the most perfect list of names I have been able to make:—

Ælmund was rector here in 1100.

[Hugh, his son probably.]

Thomas Sworder was vicar here in 1500.

Robert Crowley, admitted vicar 1566, died 1588.

Lancelot Andrewes, resigned 1604, died 1626.

John Buckeridge, ... .. died 1681.

William Fuller, ejected 1642, resigned 1646, died 1659.

<sup>1</sup> Newcourt (*Repertorium Lond.* vol. i. p. 283) says that this is in consequence of the earlier registers of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's having been burnt in the fire of 1666.

[Bruno Ryves appointed 1646, but not inducted probably on account of the rebellion.

Samuel Annesley, presented by Richard Cromwell, 1659, probably on death of

Dr. Fuller, ... .. ejected 1662.]

John Dolben, ap. 1662, resigned 1664, died 1686.

John Prichet or Pricket, ... .. died 1681.

Edward Fowler, ... .. died 1714.

William Whitfield, ... .. died 1716.

Thomas Bennett, ... .. died 1728.

John Rogers, ... .. died 1729.

William Nicholls, ... .. died 1774.

George Watson Hand, ... .. died 1802.

William Holmes, ... .. died 1833.

Frederick Blomberg .. .. died 1847.

Wm. Hale Hale, .. resigned 1857, died 1870.

Philip Parker Gilbert.

Ælmund, who gave the patronage of his benefice to the Chapter of St. Paul's, was one of the earliest rectors of the parish. He was probably succeeded by Hugh, his only son.<sup>1</sup> From the year 1100 until 1500 there is a total blank. By the will, however, of John Sworder, who left certain property to the poor of this parish, we learn that his brother, Thomas Sworder, was vicar here at the date of his will in 1500. After that we have another blank of more than half a century. The first name that occurs in Newcourt's "List of Vicars"<sup>2</sup> is that of one who lived in troublous times—during the period of the great religious

<sup>1</sup> See his will in the Registry of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Ex. f. 22.

<sup>2</sup> When the living was appropriated by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, the parish became a vicarage.

ferment of the Reformation. Robert Crowley demands our notice for more reasons than one. He seems to have held various pieces of church preferment, but we are chiefly concerned with him as Prebendary of Mora and as Vicar of St. Giles.<sup>1</sup>

Independent, however, of his connection with both parts of the parish—with Moorfields, of which he was Prebendary, and of Cripplegate, of which he was Vicar—there are points in his active life so characteristic of the times in which he lived that I shall make no apology for devoting a small space to his history. He was a Gloucestershire man, who entered the University of Oxford in 1584 and became afterwards a Fellow of Magdalen College Oxford. As to his opinions, he belonged to the Puritan party who, in their dislike to the excessive ceremonial of the times before the Reformation, wished to remove every semblance of decent order and of reverential observance from the English Church. Robert Crowley, again, had been brought up at a time when it was a common practice for clergymen to hold the most incongruous offices. Thus, when after he had been ordained deacon, in the reign of Edward VI., and was unfurnished with a benefice, he practised printing in Ely Rents Holborn, an art which he seems to have learned before his ordination, this seemed less strange to his cotemporaries than it does to us. When Mary came to the throne, Robert Crowley, with many other known partisans of the Reformation, fled to the Continent and settled for awhile at Frankfort.<sup>2</sup> Immediately on the accession of Elizabeth, however, he returned to England and was made Preben-

<sup>1</sup> Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecc. Londonense*. Vol. i. p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Troubles at Frankfort*, pages 134, 174; ed. 1846.

dary of Mora in 1563; this he seems to have resigned in 1565;<sup>1</sup> He was admitted to the Vicarage of St. Giles in 1566, and held it unto his death, June 18th 1588. In 1576 he had been collated to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry, which he held with that of St. Giles. He was a popular preacher—a favourite at St. Paul's Cross; and when marriages and funerals were ushered in by a sermon and hedged around by much civic pomp and ceremonial, and "there was good chere diner after diner,"<sup>2</sup> Robert Crowley was much sought after to solemnize the religious rite, to preach the sermon, to grace the marriage or the funeral feast with his presence, to "sit above the Alderman" and to

"Comfort the widow and the fatherless,

In funeral sack,"<sup>3</sup>

But if he loved the pomp which Aldermen and Common Councilmen clung to he atoned for this by his dislike to all church ceremonial. Hence his peculiarly sensitive conscience which brought him continually into trouble with his ecclesiastical superiors. Those were the days when stubborn "aggrieved parishioners" insisted upon their right to sing the service. Men cried out lustily for their ancient custom of chanting the Psalms; and Puritan vicars, like Crowley, were sorely distressed at having their slow and measured reading responded to in a Gregorian tone by their congregations.<sup>4</sup> A matter of this kind involved Crowley in much trouble. It was always the practice in those days for the choristers or some of the Company of Parish Clerks to attend a funeral and sing such parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Le Neve says he was "deprived."

<sup>2</sup> Machyn's *Diary*, p. 293.

<sup>3</sup> Ben Jonson. *A Magnetic Lady*, act i. scene i.

<sup>4</sup> Gorham's *Reformation Gleanings*, p. 462.



service as were directed to be sung. This Crowley objected to; and immediately after he had been appointed to the vicarage of St. Giles he endeavoured with the aid of "one Sayer," the Deputy of the Ward—but much to the disgust of many of the parishioners—to put down all singing and to abolish the surplices of the choirmen. For this the Vicar was ordered to keep to his house—or, as we should say, was imprisoned there—and the Deputy bound over to keep the peace for the future and to answer the charge whenever he might be cited for that purpose.<sup>1</sup> Crowley carried his aversion to music and the surplice so far as to threaten to go to prison rather than tolerate either. Archbishop Parker, however, did not indulge him to this extent.

Robert Crowley published a few sermons and several controversial treatises, all of which have been long forgotten. He was also thought by his admirers a poet of fair average powers. But, when we remember that he lived during the literary splendour of the Elizabethan age, we must disallow this claim. One epitaph still remaining in the church of St. Giles on the monument to the memory of Thomas Busbie, a benefactor of the parish, if written by him, as some suppose, will not allow of our estimating his taste and poetic powers highly. He published however a volume entitled "*Epigrams Concerning Abuses*," which are interesting for the glimpses they preserve to us of cotemporary manners.<sup>2</sup> From this volume I have selected and given at the end of this chapter one short set of verses, both as a specimen of his poetry

<sup>1</sup> *Archbishop Parker's Correspondence*, p. 275, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Republished by Strype in *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 2, and in Extra series of Early English Texts Society, 1872.

and as a sketch of the beggars of London in the sixteenth century.

The Vicar who succeeded Robert Crowley was distinguished alike for saintliness of life and for his great learning. Lancelot Andrewes was born in Thames-street in 1555. His father was a seaman of some celebrity, and is said to have been one of the masters of the Trinity House. The son was educated first at the Coopers' Free School, Ratcliffe, and afterwards at the Merchant Taylors' School. From thence he proceeded to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was appointed Vicar of this parish in 1589, and Prebendary of St. Paul's in the same year. Andrewes was successively Dean of Westminster in 1601, Bishop of Chichester in 1605, of Ely in 1609, and finally of Winchester in 1618.<sup>1</sup> He died in the year 1626, aged 71, and was buried in the church of St. Saviour, Southwark. He was one of the great preachers of his day. I do not suppose that he was what people call a popular preacher. His sermons, full of Latin and Greek quotations and deformed by conceits and witticisms in accordance with the taste of the age, were at the same time too weighty, I should think, to allow of their pleasing those who came to church merely to rest, or to be pleased. In one other respect he must have failed to please; it was a time full of controversy and in love with controversy: and Andrewes had no delight for this. His devout and gentle soul shrank from strife.<sup>2</sup>

He lived in an age of great men in which however he was not excelled for his solid learning. He had much

<sup>1</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti Ecc. Anglicanae*.

<sup>2</sup> "We say the Bishop of Chichester is appointed to answer Bellarmine, about the oath of allegiance, which task I doubt he will undertake and perform, being so contrary to his disposition and course to meddle with controversies."—*Court and Times of James I.*, vol. i. p. 77.

skill it is said in "at least" fifteen learned and modern tongues, and was one of the translators of the present authorized version of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> He had one characteristic commonly united to great learning, great modesty. He was so modest, so diffident as to his intellectual powers, that he was wont to declare, if he preached twice a day he prayed once, thinking it beyond his power to compose more than one sermon weekly which should be in any way worthy of its subject and worthy of the place where it was uttered. To him Greek was as familiar as his own tongue. The manuscript book of his private devotions still remains, written in that language, worn by his fingers and wetted by his tears. He was distinguished for the largeness of his alms and for the secrecy with which he distributed them, strictly charging his almoners never to allow it to be known from whence the alms came. After he had left Cripplegate, he sent every year at Christmas-tide money and gowns for the poor of the parish, and when he died left considerable bequests for charitable purposes.<sup>2</sup>

On the election of Lancelot Andrewes to the Bishopric of Chichester and his resignation of the vicarage of St. Giles, it was conferred upon Dr. John Buckeridge, Rector of North Kibworth, in Leicestershire. He like Andrewes had been educated at the Merchant Taylors' School in London, and from thence had proceeded to St. John's College Oxford, of which College he became Fellow. In 1596 he took the degree of D.D., and was appointed chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift. His promotion was now rapid. In the beginning of 1604 he was made

<sup>1</sup> Bentham's *History of Ely*.

<sup>2</sup> Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Winchester*, vol. ii.

Archdeacon of Northampton, and in November in the next year Vicar of St. Giles. In 1606 he was preferred to a Canonry in the Collegiate Church of Windsor and was made Chaplain to King James, who had a high regard for his learning. In 1611 Dr. Buckeridge was consecrated to the Bishopric of Rochester, and was translated from that See to the Bishopric of Ely in 1628.<sup>1</sup> He was thus the immediate successor of Andrewes in the vicarage of St. Giles, and on the death of Bishop Felton was called on to fill the Cathedral Chair of Ely, which Andrewes had also occupied. He was the firm friend of Andrewes during life and on his death was selected to preach his funeral sermon. Dr. Buckeridge is described as a prelate of great gravity and learning,<sup>2</sup> and was distinguished for his powers both as a preacher and a writer. He died May 23, 1631, and was buried in the parish church of Bromley in Kent, a manor then belonging to the Bishops of Rochester.<sup>3</sup>

Andrewes and Buckeridge had both been taken from their duties as Vicars of St. Giles' to the more important office of the Episcopate. The next Vicar was seemingly destined to be advanced to the same order of the ministry, and would no doubt have been a Bishop had not the untoward circumstances of the times prevented. Dr. William Fuller, born at Hadleigh in Suffolk, was appointed Vicar of this parish on the death of Bishop Buckeridge. He was made Dean of Ely in 1630. His incumbency at St. Giles was a very troublous one. The struggle between the King and Parliament was commencing and Dr. Fuller was a loyalist. The people of Cripplegate

<sup>1</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti Ecc. Ang.*

<sup>2</sup> Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*

<sup>3</sup> Stubbs' *Registrum Sacrum*. Newcourt's *Reperit. Ecc. Londonense*.

sided with the Parliament and were zealous partisans.<sup>1</sup> The Vicar and, his parishioners were arrayed against each other, and, as it was a time when men felt deeply on all religious and political questions, a conflict between the Vicar and people soon arose. The House of Commons had given parishioners the right of appointing lecturers without the consent of the Rector or Vicar. The people of Cripplegate exercised this right and appointed as their lecturer, John Sedgwick, rector of St. Alphage, an active member of the committee for raising money to carry on war against the king. Such an appointment could not but cause annoyance to the Vicar; it did worse, it produced unseemly contests in the church.<sup>2</sup> In 1648 Sedgwick died, but Dr. Fuller had been driven from the vicarage the year before, having been deprived, despoiled of his goods and imprisoned, in 1642. In 1646 the King rewarded him by advancing him to the Deanery of Durham, when he resigned the Vicarage of this parish. How far he can be said to have performed any of the offices of the Deanery to which he had been presented, is however doubtful: his successor in the Deanery of Ely Dr. Beale was never installed, having been prevented by the civil war. On his release from prison, Dr. Fuller, who was one

<sup>1</sup> See "The Petition and Articles exhibited in Parliament against Dr. Fuller, Dean of Ely and Vicar of St. Giles, Cripplegate, 1641."—*King's Pamph.*, Brit. Mus.

<sup>2</sup> "1641, Oct. 25—Petition of parishioners of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, to House of Commons. By virtue of the order of the House touching lecturers, petitioners elected Mr. John Sedgwick, weekly lecturer, but he is opposed by Timothy Hutten their scandalous curate, and one Fletcher a scandalous minister, who on the 14th inst. locked the parishioners and Mr. Sedgwick out of church, and on the 21st denied him the pulpit. They pray for an order to settle Mr. Sedgwick according to their direction."—*Fourth Report of Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 108. "Scandalous" at this time merely meant loyal.

of the royal chaplains, joined the king at Oxford. Upon the surrender of Oxford, however, to the forces of the Parliament he returned to London, where he lived in obscurity and poverty until his death on May 13, 1659, at the age of 79 years. He had the reputation of being a good linguist and an excellent preacher. Neither learning nor pulpit eloquence, however, protected him; he suffered in life, and party rancour followed him even after death. His body was not permitted to be buried in the church of which he had been Vicar, but was carried to the neighbouring church of St. Vedast Foster-lane, and there interred. When the Restoration, which took place about a twelvemonth after Dr. Fuller's death, rendered it safe to show him any public mark of affection, his daughter, the widow of the learned Brian Walton Bishop of Chester, erected a monument to her father's memory in the church where his body had been buried.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of the Commonwealth the Vicarage of St. Giles Cripplegate was held by Dr. Samuel Annesley, who in 1657 had been nominated by Oliver Cromwell divinity lecturer in St. Paul's Cathedral. To the vicarage of this parish he had been presented by Richard Cromwell in 1659. "The whirligig of time," however, "brings in his revenges."<sup>2</sup> At that moment the nation was tired of its rulers and prepared to welcome the restoration of Monarchy. In Ecclesiastical matters it had rightly or wrongly come to Milton's conclusion that

New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.<sup>3</sup>

It had thus lost all enthusiasm for either Presbyterianism or Independency, and amid the din of Anabaptists, Muggle-

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy.*

<sup>2</sup> *Twelfth Night*, act v. scene 1.

<sup>3</sup> *On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament.*

tonians, Fifth Monarchy Men, Quakers at a white heat, and a legion of other strange sects, men sighed for the solemnity and order of the Church's worship. When fanatics claimed their religious liberty of coming to meeting utterly naked, disputes about a surplice naturally fell into the back-ground. Cripplegate had far more than its fair proportion of such fanatics as these; we cannot therefore be surprised at finding its parishioners sharing in the same change which had passed over the nation. Though they had supported Sedgwick in opposition to Dr. Fuller, they lost no time after the Restoration in petitioning that Bruno Ryves Dean of Chichester, whom Charles I. had presented to the Vicarage, might be restored to rights he had not been allowed to assume and to the benefice he had been prevented from entering, so that they, in the language of their petition, "might no longer be left destitute of an orthodox and Godly Divine." The petitioners add that Dean Ryves "was appointed to their Vicarage by the late King when Dr. Fuller was made Dean of Durham, but could not enjoy the living, and that at present Dr. Annesley, pretending a grant from the late usurper or his son, possessed it contrary to the votes and desires of most of the parish."<sup>1</sup> The impatience of the people outran the action of their governors, and, though the signatures to this petition filled "several sheets," it was not until more than a year after that Dr. Annesley was removed from the living, having held it little more than two years.<sup>2</sup> He survived his ejection, however, for upwards of thirty years, and died in 1696. After his

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series; Charles I.*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Samuel Annesley was present at the vestry of this parish for the last time July, 1662. Mr. Dean Dolben was present for the first time, Nov. 1662.

removal from the vicarage of St. Giles he became the minister of a Dissenting Chapel in Great St. Helen's, where he numbered the family of De Foe among his hearers.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Annesley is chiefly remembered because of his more famous grandsons. His daughter Susannah, a woman of much decision of character, married Samuel Wesley, a London Curate, afterwards Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire;<sup>2</sup> and their three sons, Samuel, John and Charles, was all men of distinction and ability. The most celebrated of these brothers, John Wesley, has given name to the largest of the dissenting bodies in England, the Wesleyan Methodists.

In the early part of the war between the King and Parliament, a course of sermons or lectures with extemporary prayers was projected in aid of the parliamentary cause. These were continued with a less political aim after the death of the King and the establishment of the Government of the Protector. This course of lectures was commenced in the church of St. Mary Magdalen, in Milk street, but was soon after removed to St. Giles without Cripplegate. The lectures or sermons were preached by various Presbyterian divines at seven o'clock on the Sunday morning, and after the Restoration were collected in four volumes and published by Dr. Annesley under the title

<sup>1</sup> Some lines which were written by the future author of "Robinson Crusoe" are said to have been inspired by his recollections of Dr. Annesley:—

"His native candour, his familiar style  
Which did so oft his hearer's heart beguile,  
Charmed us with Godliness; and while He spake  
We liv'd the doctrine for the preacher's sake;  
While he informed us what these doctrines meant,  
By dint of practice more than argument."

<sup>2</sup> Southey's *Life of Wesley*, chapter i.



of the "Cripplegate Morning exercises."<sup>1</sup> He was himself the preacher of the first of these collected "exercises." Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached one of his earliest sermons in this course, a sermon full of plain practical maxims to be observed by buyers and sellers, which might be useful now and indeed at all times.<sup>2</sup>

Two years after the Restoration, John Dolben was appointed Vicar of St. Giles. His father was Rector of Stanwick in Northamptonshire. John Dolben, the son, was born in 1624, educated at Westminster School, and from thence elected, at the age of 15 years, student of Christ Church in the University of Oxford. When young Dolben arrived at Oxford it was the head quarters of Charles I. and was held by the royal troops. Dolben, like many other students, was inspired with a military spirit, and took up arms for the king. He rose from the rank of ensign to that of major; when, however, the royal cause was virtually lost, the young student returned to other and more peaceful pursuits. In 1647 he took his degree of M.A., and the next year paid the price of his loyalty to the king by being ejected by Cromwell's visitors from his studentship. Dolben after this continued to reside at Oxford, and there married a niece of Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Whilst at Oxford he was admitted to holy orders and zealously assisted in main-

<sup>1</sup> The first volume was published in 1661, the second in 1674, the third in 1682, and the fourth in 1690. In addition there were two supplemental volumes, "*The Morning Exercise Methodized*," preached at St. Giles in the Fields, edited by the Rev. Thos. Case in 1660, and the "*Exercise against Popery*," preached in Southwark, and published in 1675.

<sup>2</sup> See Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 17, and the sermon itself at the end of that volume.

taining the service of the church in a private house.<sup>1</sup> As the Government of Cromwell had forbidden the Book of Common Prayer to be used, this was a task of some danger. In 1660, however, all was changed. The nation was thoroughly wearied of the rule of the Parliament, and amidst the applause of the people General Monk restored the monarchy. Dolben profited by the change and became Canon of Christ Church. In the next year Dr. Sheldon was Bishop of London, and Dolben was appointed Canon of St. Paul's; in 1662 he was admitted Archdeacon of London and in the same year was presented to the Vicarage of St. Giles.<sup>2</sup> This living he resigned the next year, soon after he had been made Dean of Westminster and Clerk of the Closet. In 1666 he was consecrated to the Bishopric of Rochester, whereupon he resigned his stall at St. Paul's. In 1683 he was elected to the Archiepiscopal See of York, but died of small-pox at Bishopsthorpe April 11, 1686, and was buried in the cathedral.<sup>3</sup>

Wood speaks of Archbishop Dolben as a man of a free, noble and generous disposition, and withal of a natural, bold and happy eloquence. Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, who was a good judge in such matters, mentions that he was "much honoured as a preaching bishop," and has entered in his diary that in 1684 he "rode with some neighbours to meet our famous Archbishop Dolben, who is by me chiefly valued for his moderation, and that he is a preaching bishop."<sup>4</sup> Though but a short

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*

<sup>2</sup> Newcourt's *Repertorium Ecc. Lond.*

<sup>3</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti Ecc. Ang.*

<sup>4</sup> Thoresby's *Diary*, vol i. p. 172. ii. p. 425. "James II. said at Oxford . . . that Dr. Dolben did read much of his sermon before the king

time resident at St. Giles, Archbishop Dolben left behind him evidences of his zeal for the well-being of its parishioners.

Upon the resignation of Dr. Dolben, the vicarage of St. Giles was conferred on John Pritchett, then Prebendary of Mora, and Rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft, in the City of London, to which latter he had been collated in 1641, and after having been deprived of this living during the Great Rebellion, was reinstated at the Restoration. He was Rector also of Harlingdon in the County of Middlesex, to which he had been presented in 1661. The former living he resigned, when in 1668 he was presented to this parish. In 1665 Malcolm tells us he retired to his country living, to avoid the plague. In 1672 he was elected Bishop of Gloucester, with permission to hold his stall at St. Paul's, and the Vicarage of St. Giles together with the living of Harlingdon. He died on his estate at Harefield in Middlesex Jan. 1, 1681, with the reputation of being very rich, which with these pluralities he might well have been. His body lies buried under the pulpit of Harefield church.<sup>1</sup>

On the death of Bishop Pritchett, Edward Fowler, who in 1678 had been appointed Rector of All Hallows Bread-street, was in March 1681 collated to this vicarage, upon which he resigned the former benefice. He was Prebendary of Gloucester, to which he had been appointed in 1675. In 1691 he was consecrated to the bishopric of Gloucester, on the removal of Bishop Frampton for

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* Newcourt's *Repert. Ecc. Lond.*

his brother, after his restoration, which the king telling him of, he never after did, and therefore his preaching was well liked of." —*Lives of Leland, Hearne and Wood*, p. 363.

refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to William III. It was hoped by many that Dr. Fowler would have refused to occupy the see vacant through the conscientious scruples of Bishop Frampton, and much disappointment was felt at his accepting the bishopric.<sup>1</sup> He died at Chelsea, August 20, 1714, and was buried at Hendon, near London. He was a man of great popularity and was much beloved in the parish of St. Giles where his name frequently occurs with some epithet of love and respect. Thus in the Vestry books of 1700 is an order "That the chancel of the church be put in good repair at the charge of the parish in acknowledgment of the bounty and kindness of the Vicar, the Bishop of Gloucester, who hath for a long time provided a lecturer at his own charge."

Bishop Fowler died, as we have seen, at the end of August 1714; his successor could hardly have entered upon his duties, when, at a Vestry held Oct. 29 of that year, it was agreed that "Mr. Deputy William Edmunds with eleven gentlemen of the Vestry and the four churchwardens<sup>2</sup> meet the Rev. William Whitfield, Vicar, every Thursday night at six o'clock, at Fellow's coffee house to consult matters relating to the parish." At the Vestry, however,<sup>1</sup> held January 19 in the next year, "The Vicar suggested and desired that the committee formerly proposed to meet him of a Thursday night at Fellow's coffee house should come to his house on that night weekly for the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester*, edited by the Rev. T. S. Evans, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> The parish had then four churchwardens, two parish clerks, and two sextons, obviously for the management of the Freedom and the Lordship portion of the parish respectively.

future." What resulted from such a parochial council we are not informed, as Dr. Whitfield died in 1716. It is evident, however, that the relations of pastor and people were unsatisfactory. How much of this was due to the contest between King and Parliament more than half a century before, we can but conjecture.

In 1728 Dr. John Rogers succeeded Dr. Bennett but held this vicarage only a few months. During this time, however, he distinguished himself by his devotion to his parochial duties, his care for the sick, his attention to the charity schools in the parish, and also his zeal to forward in other ways the spiritual welfare of the parishioners. On Sunday, April 20, 1729, after he had officiated at the parish church, he preached before the Court, and, returning home to the funeral of a parishioner, was taken ill immediately after, and on the 1st of May died. He had succeeded to a parish distracted by squabbles with Dr. Bennett and the parishioners,<sup>1</sup> and lived too short a time to restore peace to the parish. Of the domestic strife which reigned there in the time of Dr. Nicholls, who succeeded him, we have an indication in the poetic will of Ned Ward, who writing in 1781 says—

Oh! bury not my peaceful corpse  
In Cripplegate, where discord dwells  
And wrangling parties jangle worse,  
Than alley scolds or Sunday's bells.

<sup>1</sup> In Dec. 18, 1723, the Vestry directed "that the suits now pending at Doctors' Commons against Dr. Thomas Bennett, Vicar, to oblige him to distribute the Sacrament monies in his hands to the use it was given be proceeded in with effect by the Churchwardens at the charge of the parish." Though the order was afterwards rescinded, it gives a glimpse of the unrest which existed in the parish, and of the uneasy relations between the Vicar and the parishioners.

How long this state of active parochial warfare continued I am unable to say.

The only other name that need detain us is that of William Hale Hale, the late Vicar. Formerly Curate to Bishop Blomfield, whilst Rector of Bishopsgate, he was appointed by that discriminating prelate Archdeacon of St. Albans in 1839, was transferred from that post to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex in 1840, and in 1842 to the Archdeaconry of London.<sup>1</sup> In all these posts he was the trusted adviser of the bishop. In 1847 he was appointed to the vicarage of St. Giles, which, however, he resigned in 1857 and died at the Charter-house, of which he was Master, on Advent Sunday 1870. He was distinguished for the calmness of his judgment, the impartiality of his actions, the largeness of his bounty, the charity which distinguished his estimate of others, and for the consistency of his life. If he shrank from demonstrative professions of piety, it was but to deepen that piety within, and those who had the privilege of near intercourse with him preserve the remembrance of his faith and humility. Of his learning we have some inadequate evidences in the volumes which he published. In the exhaustive introductions to the Doomsday book of St. Paul's and the Register of the Priory of St. Mary's Worcester, both volumes edited by him for the Camden Society, he approved himself at once a profound antiquary and constitutional lawyer, and these are only two out of many of his contributions to literature, both secular and ecclesiastical.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Le Neve's *Fasti Ecc. Ang.*

<sup>2</sup> The list of his publications, including his Charges and various pamphlets, take up a large space in Crockford's *Clerical Dictionary*, and this list is not complete.

(See page 48.)

### BEGGARS.

I heard of two beggars that under an hedg sate,  
Who did with long talk their matters debate.  
They had both sore leggs, most lothsome to se,  
Al raw from the fote welmost to the knee.  
"My legg," quod the one, "I thank God is fayre;"  
"So is mine," quod the other, "in a cold ayre;  
For then it loketh raw, and as red as any bloud—  
I would not have it healed for any world's good.  
For were it once whole, my lyving were gone,  
And for a sturdy beggar I should be take anone.  
No manne would pity me but for my sore legg,  
Wherefore if it were whole in vain I might begg;  
I should be constrained to labour and sweat,  
And perhaps sometime with scourges be beat."  
"Wel," sayd the other, "let us take hede therefore,  
That we let them not heal, but kepe them styl sore."  
Another thyng I hear of a beggar that was lame,  
Much lyke one of these, if it were not the same,  
Who sytting by the fyre, with the cup in his hand,  
Began to wonder when he should turn good husband.  
"I never thryve," quod this beggar, "I wene,  
For I gate but xvj pence to day, and I have spent eyghtene,  
Wel, let the world wag, we must needs have drink—  
Go, fyl this quart pot ful to the brink;  
The tongue must have bastyng, it will the better wagg,  
To pul a Godde penny out of a churle's bagg."





#### CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

##### *Ecclesiastical Notices.*

**A**LTHOUGH there were neither any large monasteries nor priories within the parish of St. Giles, yet Cripplegate outside the gate was surrounded by conventual institutions of one sort or another. Across the moor towards the east might be seen the gables of the wealthy nunnery of Halliwell, the walls of Bethlehem hospital, and those of St. Mary Spital by Norton Folgate. Immediately to the west were the towers of the Great Carthusian Monastery, founded by Sir Walter Manny,<sup>1</sup> and close adjoining these was the massive Norman tower of the priory church of the Canons Regular of St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield. To the south by Newgate rose the stately hall and library of the Grey Friars, built by Sir

<sup>1</sup> In 1349 Stratford, Bishop of London, bought three acres of ground for the burial of the dead, enclosed the ground with a wall and erected a chapel here. At the same time Sir Walter Manny bought thirteen acres and a half for the burial of those who had died of the pestilence, the Black Death. *Chron. Galf. le Baker de Swinbroke*. Archdeacon Hale in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæolog. Soc.* vol. iii.



Richard Whittington in 1421, and hard by the half fortress, half collegiate establishment of St. Martin's-le-Grand, the largest and most privileged of the sanctuaries in the City,<sup>1</sup> and the home of fraudulent bankrupts, of murderers and thieves, who were safely sheltered in its cloisters, from the law, and kept the citizens in perpetual terror at the frequency and audacity of their crimes.<sup>2</sup> Surrounded by these splendid evidences of ecclesiastical wealth and taste, the parish of St. Giles' Without Cripplegate, was content with two small religious houses, one indeed hardly, or only partially, within its limits, a hermitage adjoining the gate leading into the City; the other a small priory which had once belonged to a foreign monastery, but was tenanted at the end of the fifteenth century by a few old alms folks, under the care of the brotherhood of our Lady and St. Giles.

Near this gate in Monkwell or Mugwell Street was the hermitage of St. James-on-the-wall, founded by Mary Countess of Pembroke, who assigned the patronage of it to the Cistercian Monastery of Gerondon in Leicestershire.<sup>3</sup> Our modern notion, which associates rural solitudes, untrodden wastes, the recesses of forests, or the retirement of some lonely dale remote from the busy world, as the home of the hermit, is rarely applicable to the hermits of the middle ages. The time of their dwelling apart had gone by. The service used by the bishop on the appointment

<sup>1</sup> Though within the walls of London, the Sanctuary of St. Martin, by a legal fiction, was reckoned a part of the City of Westminster, and until the reign of George III. the Parliamentary electors living within this parish, in the heart of London, voted as electors of Westminster, not of London.

<sup>2</sup> Kempe's *History of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin's-le-Grand*.

<sup>3</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 553.

of a recluse to a hermitage was no longer appropriate.<sup>1</sup> Though still called hermits, the tenants of a hermitage had no claim to this name; they had now come to dwell in the middle of cities and towns, and in the busiest thoroughfares of such places; in the country their cells were near the lodge gates of the nobility or on the frequented high road. They had a shadow of a right to this name only because at the first they lived alone, not in a community.<sup>2</sup> Afterwards even this was relaxed by custom, and we read of hermits with a chaplain, sometimes enjoying the society of a sub-hermit and having servants to attend to their bodily comforts. They took their walks abroad and were visited by friends and gossips, who came to their hermitages as to places where the news of the world could be heard, much the same as in the refectory of the monastery and in the shop of the barber. They commonly followed trades and occupations.<sup>3</sup> How long the hermitage in Monkwell Street continued is unknown. The occupation of a hermitage was irregular. Unless when a hermitage was endowed, candidates for such places were infrequent towards the close of the middle ages. When a hermit did not offer himself the hermitage and garden which surrounded it was sometimes let to an honest tradesman, and gradually the hermitage itself was forgotten except in name.<sup>4</sup> In dress the hermit differed but little, if at all, from the peasants and artisans living near

<sup>1</sup> See the *Liber Pontificalis* of Bishop Lacy of Exeter, A.D. 1420-1455, for the form used for Blessing hermits, pp. 129 and 131, edit. Barnes.

<sup>2</sup> See Fleury's *Histoire Ecclesiastique* in Index. Martigny's *Dict. des Antiquités Chrétiennes*.

<sup>3</sup> Fosbroke's *British Monachism*, pp. 370—379.

<sup>4</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, pp. 117—148.

him. His russet gown was hardly to be distinguished from that worn by them.<sup>1</sup> The institution itself, however, was dead long before the form of it, at least as a religious institution, was swept away in the reformation of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

At the corner of Whitecross Street and Fore Street formerly stood a small priory of Cluniac Monks, a cell of the parent house of Clugny.<sup>3</sup> These alien priories, which drew their recruits from France and remitted their surplus revenues to the continent, were viewed with great dislike by the English people, always jealous of foreigners. Hence, whenever war broke out between England and France, a clamour arose for the suppression of these priories or cells, lest the monks should send information of military movements and also money to "our adversary," as France was usually called. During each of the reigns of Edward I, Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II, the foreign monks were driven from their houses in England as soon as war had broken out with France, and only when peace returned were they allowed to re-enter their old homes. When Henry V. went to war with France, the cry against these alien priories was so universal and vehement that an Act of Parliament was passed for their suppression.<sup>4</sup> Under the provisions of

<sup>1</sup> Notes to *Piers Plowman's Vision*, Early Eng. Texts Soc. edit. Parts iv. & v., pp. 3-10.

<sup>2</sup> See a letter of Bishop Nicholson on Hermits and Hermitages in Thoresby's *Diary and Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Alien Priories*, vol. ii. p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> The first seizure of these Priories was by Edward I. in 1285; the second was by his son; the third by Edward III. in 1387; the fourth by Richard II. in 1394. Their final dissolution was by Act of Parliament in the second year of Henry V. See *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv. p. 22.

this Act the foreign inmates of this priory of St. Giles in Whitecross Street were turned out, and on the reversion of the house to the King a small community of English monks was established. The monastic spirit, however, was very feeble at this time, and, after lingering for awhile, this house was given to the brotherhood of St. Giles, who turned it into tenements for the poor. This arrangement only lasted till the reign of Henry VIII. when the site was granted to Sir John Gresham, who gave it and other property for the foundation of a Grammar School at Holt in Norfolk, and assigned the care of it to the Fishmongers' Company.<sup>1</sup>

In the last chapter I have referred to the divided state of the parish politically, ecclesiastically, and therefore socially, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this, Cripplegate was but an epitome of the nation. Whilst the larger part of the parishioners had welcomed the arrival of Charles the Second, there were others who regretted that the protectorate of Richard Cromwell had not given place to a more Republican form of Government. Political Puritans and societies holding the wildest opinions found shelter in this parish as in a congenial soil. Colonel Rainsborough, a dangerous fanatic whom Cromwell had dismissed from the army, was known to be here, and Ludlow, another fanatical soldier of the Commonwealth, was suspected also to be lurking in Cripplegate ready to engage in any desperate enterprise against the Government of the Restoration. At the houses of sympathizing parishioners mysterious packages were left, by the carriers which on being opened were found to

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey*. Burgon's *Life of Sir Thos. Gresham*, vol. i. p. 14.

contain "pistols and holsters."<sup>1</sup> The secret printing presses in the alleys off Red Cross Street and Golding Lane poured forth seditious pamphlets exhorting the Saints again to draw the sword for the "good old cause." Rumours of the wildest projects circulated on all sides. One report affirmed that the Anabaptist and Fifth Monarchy men had agreed to renew the war against the Monarchy, though they differed as to the precise day when the standard of rebellion should be set up. This condition of things kept the well-disposed in continual alarm, and encouraged the fanatical and discontented to hope again to overthrow the constitution as it had been overthrown a dozen years before. At this moment the unsettled state of the nation gave significance to what was a serious riot in and near this parish, but which might have been a revolution. In Swan Alley Coleman Street, was a meeting house where a few enthusiasts listened to the ravings of Venner, a Wine Cooper, who preached the Advent of the Fifth Monarchy, when Christ should reign, if not in person yet in his vicegerents the Saints of Swan Alley. On Sunday, the sixth of January 1661, after an excited sermon from Venner ending in a vehement call to his hearers to put in practice the doctrine they had listened to, this handful of Saints, or Fifth Monarchy men as they were called, rushed up Cheapside from their meeting house and reached St. Paul's, where they killed an unfortunate man, who could not answer satisfactorily to their jargon. After retreating to Highgate, they returned on Wednesday to the

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-five cases of pistols and holsters belonging to Col. Wm. Rainsborough were seized at the house of Wm. Walgrave of Cripplegate, Dec. 17, 1660. Bond for the good behaviour of Capt. or Col. Wm. Rainsborough in £500 was given by Dr. Richard Barker of the Barbican, Feb. 7, 1661.—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic series: Charles II.*

City, broke through the gate, "put the King's Life Guard to the run, killed about twenty men,"<sup>1</sup> and dispersed the train bands of London. Terror seized the whole City. Business was at a stand still. Every one armed himself as best he could to defend his house against a force, which never numbered one hundred men. At last, when this small body of mad fanatics had dwindled to about thirty, they took shelter in the Blue Anchor ale house by the Moorfields postern, and there obstinately defended themselves. It was not until the adjoining house had been unroofed and a party of soldiers were able to fire upon the little band from above whilst others ascended the stairs and attacked them, and then only after twenty of the garrison had been slain, that Venner was taken with nine survivors. The Government showed their sense of the danger by the promptness and severity of the punishment dealt out to the rioters. Those captured at the Blue Anchor and other members of the Fifth Monarchy party were tried and executed. Venner and another were hung in Coleman Street, and their quarters set up on the City Gates, John Elson was hung in Whitecross Street, and William Corbet in Red Cross Street. Their heads with those of the rest, thirteen in all, were set up to rot on London Bridge. Thus the Fifth Monarchy came to an end.<sup>2</sup>

From the beginning of the sixteenth century and the cessation of civil war the population of the parishes without the walls of London gradually increased. It was not,

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, who adds in his *Diary*, "Jan. 9th, every one in arms at the doors . . . the streets full of train bands, and great stir . . . The shops shut, and all things in trouble."

<sup>2</sup> Evelyn's *Diary*. Pepys' *Diary*. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Reign of Charles II.* Howell's *State Trials*. Collier's *Ecc. Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 876. Hume's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. viii. p. 363. *Pictorial History of Eng.* iii. p. 679.

however, until the Great Fire in 1666, that this increase was largely seen in St. Giles'. When the large desolation was made by the fire, the moor lay convenient for building temporary houses for those who had lost their homes. These houses, however hastily built, were often of a more substantial character than the houses within the walls which had been burnt in the Great Fire. Pepys tells us in his Diary, under April 7, 1667, "Unto Moorfields, and did find houses built two stories high, and like to stand, and must become a place of great trade till the City be built; and the street is already paved as London streets used to be." During the distress caused by the fire, we have incidentally a proof that the charity of those who had not suffered was actively exerted on behalf of those who were less fortunate; for we read that when Charles II. sent sea stores to the poor in Moorfields after the fire, they were already so well supplied that the people, not being used to biscuit, declined them.<sup>1</sup> These buildings which had been hastily constructed for the shelter of the people whose houses had been destroyed remained until within the memory of old persons yet living, and one row of these canvass-covered sheds and stalls was the origin of the west side of Finsbury Pavement.<sup>2</sup> Till that time what we still call Little Moorfields fronted the open fields; when however a row of houses interposed, Little Moorfields acquired the name of Back Lane. It is so called in the map of London prefixed to Entick's edition of Maitland's History of London (1775). These houses

<sup>1</sup> *Harleian Miscellany*. *London Gazette* of Sept. 10, 1666.

<sup>2</sup> "This part of Moorfields is taken up by shops, where old books are sold at the south-east corner, and second-hand goods of all sorts along that side."—*London and its Environs described*, vol. v. p. 10.

were in many instances found so convenient for trade that their tenants remained there after the houses in the City had been rebuilt. A writer discussing the question whether these citizens should "be compelled to plant within the walls again," says, "It were harsh to compel them against their interest, to replant themselves within the walls, since many of them have taken long leases of their houses in the suburbs (and indeed could get no shorter), and have given great fines, and know not how to put off the houses they have taken, and to reimburse themselves without insufferable loss, and diminution. And possibly here and there one, as well situated for his business, hath found the bees to come swarming over to his new hive; I mean hath as many customers, and as good a trade as ever. Let such dwell in the tabernacles they have purchased, who find it is good being there."<sup>1</sup>

However, before the fire, the growth of the population within the parish, which extended then to Pentonville and Islington, had led from time to time to suggestions for building a new church in the Lordship part of Cripplegate, as the present parish of St. Luke's was called; and whilst Dr. Dolben held the vicarage of St. Giles the Vestry (9th of June, 1663) considered a proposal to build such church, when it was—

"Ordered forthwith, that there bee two men chosen by the Freedom, and two men likewise by the Lordship, that live out of this parish, to treat about the building of the church in the Lordship, and upon their non-agreement, if it so bee, it to be referred to Mr. Deane Dolben, finally to determine upon the whole matter."

<sup>1</sup> *London's Resurrection, or the rebuilding of London encouraged*, etc., by Samuel Rolls, 1661, p. 226.



This was before the fire; no steps, however, seem to have been taken to carry out this order of the Vestry. When the fire had brought a new population to the out parishes of the City, the need of increased Church accommodation was more urgently felt than ever, and in 1670 a petition was presented to the House of Lords, that a part of the tax on coals coming into the City should be applied to building new churches at St. James, St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew's Holborn, and St. Giles' Cripplegate; the churches in those parishes, as the petition goes on to say, not being able to receive the third part of their parishioners.<sup>1</sup>

But church work is proverbially slow, and thus, though a new church was felt necessary, nothing was done in compliance with the resolution of the Vestry until nearly a century afterwards, when, in 1788, the church of St. Luke in Old Street was erected,<sup>2</sup> and the parish divided ten years later; the Freedom part (that part of the original parish which was under the government of the Corporation of London) being left to the parish church of St. Giles, whilst the Lordship part constituted a new parish, under the name of St. Luke's Middlesex. Before this an episcopal chapel or "Tabernacle wherein is performed the service of the Church of England"<sup>3</sup> had been provided in Noble Street for the use of the people of the parish, Mr. Ferguson being the clergyman in charge of this chapel in 1782. In 1711 the want of church accommodation had been so urgently felt that a Com-

<sup>1</sup> *Eighth Report of Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> "Oct. 16, 1788. The Church in Old Street consecrated and named St. Luke."—*MS. Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> *Parish Clerk's Survey*, 1732.

mittee was appointed by the Vestry to consider the desirableness of building other churches; and it decided, on the 8th of September of that year, that one church should be built on the ground where St. Luke's now stands and another in Whitecross Street: a proposal not carried out until our own days, when St. Mary's Charterhouse was erected in Golden-lane. Before this, however, was done, though a century after the recommendation of the Vestry, the old workhouse of the freedom part of the parish, which stood in Moor Lane, between Tenter and New Union Streets, having become useless for the purposes of the Poor Law, was sold by the Vestry to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a site for a new church, which after some delay was, on Saturday April 20th 1850, consecrated in memory of the apostle St. Bartholomew.<sup>1</sup> The funds for the building of this church were derived from the proceeds of the sale of the church of the same name standing in Bartholomew Lane by the Royal Exchange, and much of the materials and fittings of the old church were worked up into the fabric of the new church. The tower indeed was a faithful copy of that belonging to the old church. Upon the consecration a new parish was formed. The first baptism in this church was on Sunday April 21st, the day after the consecration, and the first marriage on the 5th of August following.

In the survey of London published by the company of Parish Clerks in 1782 mention is made of "five dissenting meeting houses" in this parish, without however indicating their situations. In a directory of 1740 it is stated that there were two Anabaptist meetings, one in Paul's

<sup>1</sup> A part of the money received for the site was given by the Vestry as a contribution towards the building of the new church.

Alley, the other in White's Alley, and two chapels of Independents, one called the Red Cross meeting situated in Fore Street, the other in Ropemakers' Alley, and also a Roman Catholic chapel in Butler's Alley, Grubb Street. In 1765 these were again mentioned, with the exception of the Anabaptist meeting in White's Alley, which had in the meantime ceased to be. The Roman Catholic Chapel was afterwards removed from Butler's Alley to White Street.





## CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

### *The Gates.*

**T**HERE were in the latter years of the middle ages two gates leading from the City into this parish. Cripplegate on the west, which gives name to two of the City wards as well as to this parish;<sup>1</sup> and the Moorgate, which stood at the eastern end of the parish, and as its name implied, opened upon the moor. Two postern or wicket gates for the convenience of foot passengers were made in still later times. One of these was at the end of Aldermanbury at a point still indicated by the name of Aldermanbury Postern, whilst a second was made in 1655, between Aldermanbury and "The Great Moorgate." Another postern gate outside the parish and opposite the present Blomfield Street was called in distinction "The Little Moorgate."

The time when the first City gate was made is uncertain; and whether Cripplegate or Aldersgate is the older has

<sup>1</sup> On the derivation of the name Cripplegate see Note A in the Appendix at the end of this volume.

been made a matter of dispute. The postern gate in the parish is, we know, of great antiquity, since it is mentioned as existing in A.D. 1010, before the Conquest. Stow however, taking the name Aldersgate to mean the older gate, decides in favour of its superior antiquity. Whatever we may think of Stow's etymological skill and of his derivation of the names Aldersgate and Cripplegate it seems likely that he is right in his opinion that Cripplegate must yield in antiquity to Aldersgate,<sup>1</sup> more especially as when it is first mentioned, and indeed long after this, Cripplegate is spoken of as a "postern" only. It is probable that the postern here was made for military purposes and not for a public way. The postern may thus have been as old as the Aldersgate, though Cripplegate, however antient may have been more modern than the neighbouring gate. Be that as it may, Cripplegate, having become dilapidated, was in 1244 rebuilt at the cost of the brewers of London, which makes it probable that even so early as this the various water courses of the Moor supplied the beer and ale brewer with water. Having again fallen into ruin, this gate was thoroughly repaired in 1490-1, the charges being defrayed out of a bequest of five hundred marks left for that purpose by Edward Shaw, goldsmith.<sup>2</sup> The structure underwent further repairs and alterations from time to time.<sup>3</sup> Cripplegate, however, remained substantially as built in 1244 until the demolition of the City gates in 1761, the last of the alterations and repairs being made in 1668.

<sup>1</sup> The ancient name of this gate was Aldrichegate or Aldrishgate. *Liber Albus*, lib. 1. cap. xliii. Kempe's *History of St. Martin's-le-Grand*, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> "1490—This year Creplegate was new made."—Wriothesley's *Chronicle*.

<sup>3</sup> *New View of London*, vol. i. p. 7.

This gate was flanked by two embattled octagonal towers, one of these being pierced as a postern for the use of foot passengers.<sup>1</sup> The City gates were closed at night, and chained and barred until sunrise. In the day time they were the toll-bars of the City, the places where the tolls on carts and dues on goods brought into London were collected;<sup>2</sup> in the night they were the places where the watch mustered. Thus in the ordinances made in 1811, for watch and ward in the City, we have a regulation for the watch at this gate which applies more or less to every gate of the City.

“At the gate of Cripplegate there were to be found at night from the said ward within eight men well armed. From the ward of Bassieshawe six men well armed and from the ward of Colmanne Strete six men well armed, and John Baker and Richard Bell were sworn to keep the keys thereof.”

The apartments over the various gateways were appropriated to one or other of the City officers, but the gate itself had a strong apartment which was long used as a prison for debtors and common trespassers. “Whereunto,” according to Stow, “such citizens and others as were arrested in debt or common trespasses were committed, as they are now, to the compters.” In proof of

<sup>1</sup> It bore on the south side this inscription:—“This gate was repaired, beautified, and the foot postern new made at the charge of the City of London, in the 15th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles II., in the Mayoralty of Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart., Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and Alderman of the Ward. Anno Dom., 1663.”—*New View of London*, vol. i. p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Madox's *Hist. of the Exchequer*, vol. i. chap. 18, §4.

<sup>3</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 92. Next year, by an ordinance of the Common Council, Cripplegate was to be guarded by twenty-four men at night, and twelve by day.

this he cites a writ of Edward the First, in which mention is made of a debtor detained in *prisona nostra de Criplegate*, for the sum of ten pounds. The practice of using the City gates as prisons seems to have been a custom of considerable antiquity. The rioters accused in 1262 of the illusage of the Jews during a riot in London were confined, whilst awaiting their trial, *partem in Newgate et partem in Cripelgate*.<sup>1</sup> Most of the gates of London indeed appear to have been so used at one time or another, so that "gate-house" became a synonym for a "prison." As these gates, being thoroughfares for passengers; were conspicuous places in a ward, they were also sometimes chosen as fit places for hanging criminals.<sup>2</sup> After these places ceased to be used as prisons the apartments over the gates continued to be assigned as residences to various City officers and others. We find as early as 1374 that the Corporation granted the rooms in the Aldgate to Geoffrey Chaucer, probably as part of his emolument as comptroller of the customs in the port of London.<sup>3</sup> It is probable that the residence of City officials at these gates had become a mere figure of speech before their demolition, and that these officers had the privilege of

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica Majorum et Vicecomitum, Lond.* (Camden Soc.) p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> "1554. The 15th of February were hanged of the rebells iii. again St. Magnus Church, iii. at Bellingsgate, iii. at Ledenhall, one at Moregate, one at Cripelgate, one at Aldrigegate, two at Paules, iii. in Holborne, iii. at Tower Hill, ii, at Tyburne, and at 4 places in Southwark, 14, and divers others were executed at Kingston and other places."—Wriothesley's *Chronicle*.

Note 1663: "Four felons sent to the warres, after they were condemned returned again, were convict of other felonies and hanged at the 4 gates, Aldersgate, Criplegate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate." Smyth's *Obituary*. See also *The Chronicle of the Grey Friars*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 377.

letting the apartments in the gates which had been assigned them.

In 1807 the gate in this parish was granted to Thomas de Kent, one of the sergeants of the Lord Mayor, "to watch and dwell in the same so long as he shall well and honestly behave himself, and shall keep the said place roofed at his own expense and protected from wind and rain."<sup>1</sup>

This gate was in 1820, occupied by William de Waltham, who seems to have appropriated to himself a small piece of land outside and on the west of the gate. He was ejected from the gate by order of the Common Council, because of his resisting the attempt of the City to take possession of the land he had appropriated without authority. This piece of ground was afterwards enclosed with an earthen wall.<sup>2</sup>

In 1887 42 pieces of timber lying in the lesser gardens at Guildhall were taken by Richard de Berkyng, Alderman, and the Chamberlain of the City, and applied to the repairs of this gate. In the Chamberlain's accounts two years after this is an item: "For expenses upon the new wall near Cripelgate, £10 17s. 4½d. For expenses upon the gate of Cripelgate, the pavement and the kitchen thereof £14 7s. 7½d."<sup>3</sup>

In 1875 the Cripplegate "with the chambers and other edifices over the same gate, being together with a stable to the same gate annexed," was assigned to "John Wallyngtone, sergeant, Common Crier of the City—he receiving and keeping there all prisoners by the Mayor

<sup>1</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, pp. 195—207.



and Alderman, during the life of him, the same John, thither to be sent."<sup>1</sup>

A few years after the gate had again become ruinous, and we find this entry:—

"Forasmuch as the rooms and walls over the gate of Cripplegate are so ruinous and infirm that they cannot last for long without repair, it is agreed that so soon as any money shall come to the Chamber, over and above reasonable outlay upon the Conduit, the same shall be expended upon repairing the said rooms and walls, and upon nothing else, until they shall have been reasonably amended and repaired."<sup>2</sup>

Barbican and Red Cross Street, and this gate witnessed the triumphal procession at the entry of Elizabeth, as Queen into London. On the twenty-eighth of November 1558, the Chroniclers tell us that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen met her at the Gate of the Charterhouse, where she had stayed on her journey from Hatfield, and that there the Recorder with a short speech saluted her in the name of the whole City, "and then at two o'clock in the afternoon taking her chariot" Holinshed relates "she rode in great state through Barbican, the Mayor riding with Garter King at Arms, and carrying a sceptre before her, she entered at Cripplegate and so passed by the walls to Bishopsgate which was richly hanged, and there the wayts of the city sounded loud musicke,"<sup>3</sup> and thus she went in regal state to the Tower where she had so lately been confined as a prisoner. "When she entered Mark Lane," we are told "a peal

<sup>1</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> Holinshed's *Chronicle*. Wriothesley's *Chronicle*. Haywood's *Annals of the first four years of Queen Elizabeth*.

of ordnance began at the tower, which continued half an hour or thereabouts."<sup>1</sup>

In 1750 the rooms in the Cripplegate were filled with lumber, or let to anyone who would occupy them.<sup>2</sup> In 1758 Stephen Monteage, a clerk in the Custom-house, rented them of the water-bailiff for twelve guineas a-year.<sup>3</sup> In a book published in 1761, the year of the demolition of this gate, it is described as "having more the appearance of a fortification than any of the other" gates.<sup>4</sup>

A fragment of this old gate remained until recently in a yard of the Old White Horse Inn, at that time occupied by Messrs. Scholes, the carriers. East from this, in the old churchyard of St. Alphage in London Wall, portions of the original City walls may yet be seen; but the most perfect portion of the old bulwarks of London stands in the churchyard of St. Giles. At this point the wall, having run east and west, turns to the south, and at the angle is placed a circular bastion about thirty-six feet in external diameter, and with a height of from ten to twelve feet above the present level of the ground, which through the number of burials has in the course of ages risen considerably. At the height of five feet and a half is a set-off above which the diameter of the bastion is

<sup>1</sup> "When she was entered into the Tower, she thus spake to those about her: "Some have fallen from being Princes of this land to be prisoners in this place; I am raised from being prisoner in this place to be Prince of this land. That dejection was a work of God's justice; this advancement is a work of His mercy; as they were to yield patience for the one, so I must bear myself towards God thankful and to men merciful and beneficial for the other." Haywood's *Annals*, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*. July 1855.

<sup>3</sup> Seven volumes of a Brief Diary of this gentleman, are among the manuscripts in the Guildhall Library.'

<sup>4</sup> *London and its Environs*. 1761.

much less than it is below. The base of the wall is composed of rubble stonework up to the set off, then comes a course of flints about one foot in thickness, then two courses of tiles three inches thick, and one course of flint above the tiles eight inches in thickness; the remainder is composed of rubble work. Though the bastion cannot be considered a piece of the old Roman wall, yet it has undoubtedly been rebuilt with some of the original materials, and with fragments of Roman buildings which formerly stood near it. This portion of the wall has been assigned by some to the reign of Alfred, when the old Roman wall was in great part rebuilt and strengthened.<sup>1</sup> The wall however was repaired, rebuilt, altered and improved so often from the period of the Saxon Conquest until its removal, that it would be difficult to fix the date of any part of it as it existed in later days. The utmost that can be said is that "There is no reason to doubt that nearly the whole circuit of the City wall, as it stood in 1707, was erected upon the old Roman foundation comprehending an area more than three miles in circumference."<sup>2</sup>

Judging from this bastion and from other fragments, the walls of London would seem to have had a mean thickness of about ten feet at the base, diminishing to six feet at the top.

We have seen that in 1414, during the Mayoralty of

<sup>1</sup> On the Roman Wall of London, see Woodward's *Remarks upon the Ancient and Present State of London*, 1707. Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*. Mr. W. H. Black's *Roman London*. Mr. J. T. Smith's *Ancient Topography of London*, 1815. Mr. J. E. Price *On a Bastion of London Wall*, 1880. And *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*.

<sup>2</sup> Norton's *Commentaries on the Franchises of London*, p. 17. Woodward's *Remarks upon the Ancient and Present State of London*, p. 20.

Thomas Fauconer, the City wall was broken through between Cripplegate and Bishopsgate, and a small postern gate was made near the entrance of what is now Moorgate Street. This seems to have been afterwards enlarged and made suitable for passengers, whether man or beast, until it rivalled or even exceeded in size most of the other gates. Old inhabitants can I believe remember hearing that part of Fore Street which lies between Finsbury Pavement and Moor Lane called Postern Street. It was so called because of the Postern made by Thomas Fauconer between the two Posterns of Moorgate and Aldermanbury.

Though the Moorgate, like those of Aldgate, Bishopsgate, and Cripplegate, escaped destruction in the Great Fire of London, it had become so dilapidated that it was wholly rebuilt in 1672.<sup>1</sup> It was 1,664 feet from Bishopsgate on the one side, and 1,082 from Cripplegate on the other. The new gate was a stately building of Italian or Palladian architecture, and is described as a "handsome dwelling of two stories, adorned with pilasters of the Corinthian order, and a semicircular pediment above containing the City arms, surmounting a lofty arch with two posterns. It was allotted as a dwelling for the third of the Lord Mayor's carvers."<sup>2</sup> The arch was made high and somewhat out of proportion to the rest of the building, either "for the convenience of the City trained bands marching through it to exercise in the fields with their pikes erect," or, according to another conjecture,

<sup>1</sup> It bore on the north side this inscription:—"Begun in the year 1673 Sir Robert Hanson then Lord Mayor, finished in the year 1674, Sir William Hooker, Lord Mayor.—*New View of London*, vol. 1. p. viii. (1708).

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1855.

in order to permit carts of hay to pass through into the City, a proposal at one time having been made to use a portion of Moorfields for a hay-market for the City.<sup>1</sup> As is shown by the sum for which the materials sold when it was taken down, it was built more substantially than most of the other gates.

Before the middle of the eighteenth century the walls of London had practically ceased to exist. Houses had been built on the walls on either side. The gates were now useless except for the fees they brought in to some of the City officials. The inconveniences they offered were great. In 1760 they were accordingly advertised for sale. On the 80th of July, Mr. Blagden, a carpenter in Coleman Street, bought Aldgate of the commissioners of the City lands for £177 10s., Cripplegate for £91; and Ludgate for £148. It would appear from this that Cripplegate was of less importance than any of the other gates.<sup>2</sup> In December of the same year Bishopsgate was sold. In April 1761 Moorgate was sold for £166, and Aldersgate for £91. These two however had scarcely been taken down when Mr. Smeaton, the celebrated engineer employed by the Corporation, reported that the central arch of London Bridge was in a highly dangerous state, and advised that the City should buy back the materials of Moorgate, as they lay in Moorfields, and throw the stones into the Thames close to the starlings of the bridge. The danger to London Bridge was so great and imminent that the

<sup>1</sup> *London and its Environs Described*, vol. v. p. 11 (London, 1767).

<sup>2</sup> By the terms of the sale the purchaser undertook to commence the removal of the gate on the first day of September, and to clear away the last of the materials within two months of that date.

stones were brought on the same day; and horses, carts, and barges instantly procured, so that the work might commence immediately, although it was Sunday.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst these gates remained they were used and seem to have been needed for prisons. Indeed the number of prisons in the City was large, as well those at the gates and also those inside the walls. The suburbs of London—and when this term suburb is used in old writers, the city parishes lying immediately without the gates are meant—abounded with the most lawless classes of the community. Little Moorfields was dangerous to the unwary, with its small low alehouses and tenements of a still more disreputable kind. Grub Street, which at best was never a safe place, had become in the time of the Tudors, when archery was going out of fashion, in a great measure deserted except for low gambling houses and bowling-alleys—or, as we should call them, skittle-grounds. A reader therefore is not surprised to find in a letter of Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London in the time of Elizabeth, that the “Harrow,” in Moorfields, was well-known to the City authorities as one of the “harbouring houses for masterless men, and for such as live by theft and other such like shifts.”

The thieves of the good old days—the days of “Merrie England,” as people now call them—were indeed much like thieves in these days of ours. An extract from the same letter in which Recorder Fleetwood, writing about the “Harrow” in Moorfields and other haunts of the London thieves, describes one of the academies for young pick-

<sup>1</sup> *The Annual Register*, 1760, p. 122. Life of Smeaton attached to his Reports made to the Corporation of London, cited in the *Chronicles of London Bridge by an Antiquary*, p. 325. Second Edition.

pockets in the olden time, will show how little there is new under the sun. "Amongst our travells," he says, "this one matter tumbled owt by the way, that one Wotton, a gentilman borne, and sometyme a merchant man of good credyt, who falling by tyme into decay, kepte an alehowse at Smart's Keye, near Byllingsgate, and after for some mysdemeanor being put downe, he reared up a new trade of lyfe, and in the same howse he procured all the cuttpurses abowte this Cittie to repaire to his same howse. There was a schole-howse set up to learn young boyes to cutt purses. There were hung up two devyses—the one was a pocket, the other was a purse. The pocket had in it certain cownters, and was hung abowt with hawkes' bells, and over the top did hang a little sacring bell; and he that could take out a cownter without any noyse was allowed to be a publique foyster, and he that could take a piece of sylver out of the purse without the noyse of any of the bells, he was adjudged a judiciall nypper. *Nota*, that a foyster is a pickpokett, and a nypper is termed a pickpurse or a outpurse."<sup>1</sup> The thieves and beggars of the olden times were like the thieves and beggars of modern days. In this letter of Recorder Fleetwood in the sixteenth century, we have a picture of Fagan and the thief trainers of our own times. The thieving and cheating arts seem absolutely stationary since the middle ages.

The gates of the City, Newgate, Ludgate, Cripplegate, and the rest, as well as the various counters, the prison of the Fleet, and the manor prison of Finsbury, were for

<sup>1</sup> Ellis' *Original Letters*. First series, vol. ii. p. 297; and Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. ii. p. 245. For an account of a similar school for training boys in thieving at a later date, see *Annual Register*, 1765, p. 72.

felons, debtors, disorderly drunkards and other offenders against the public peace; some provision for tramps or vagrants, for poor wayfarers and destitute men and women, existed in the "Cages" which each parish maintained for the two classes of idle imposters and of unfortunate poor. Cripplegate had several of these refuges in the various precincts of the parish. We have notices—chiefly in the church registers—of a cage by the Gate, another at Grubb Street end, while a third stood in Golding Lane end, and a fourth at Moor Lane end, and one in Old Street.<sup>1</sup> Probably there were others which have escaped my notice. Among other purposes, these cages seemed to have served that of a lying-in-hospital affording shelter to destitute women on the point of becoming mothers.<sup>2</sup> Famishing persons were taken from the streets to these refuges, often however only to die.<sup>3</sup> The homeless also found an asylum there for a time, much as the same class does now in the casual wards of a modern workhouse. If destitution clearly arose from idleness, which was looked upon as a crime against society, the law directed the

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* I cite from the register books of St. Giles the Baptism of "Wyllym the son of Leonarde Rule born in the cadge without Cripplegate. 17 Jan. 1581-82."

Buried "a woman from the cadge at Golding Lane end, name unknown, 30 Nov. 1595."

<sup>2</sup> "Jane the daughter of Evan Jones, serving man borne in the cadge at Grubb Street end, 21 Jan. 1586-87." "Eva Rice, daughter of Thomas Rice, servingman, and married in St. Giles Church in Northampton, and the woman travailled with child in Little Brittain Street in Little St. Bartholomew's parish, at the door of the Spread Eagle and christened the 22 May, 1587."—*S. Giles Register of Baptisms.*

"Given to a poore woman brought to bead at Mr. Benstone's doore, and lying her in the cage, ffor her relief, 22d."—*S. Alphage Vestry Books, s.a.* 1606.

<sup>3</sup> "Robert Ely dead in the cadge, 26 Sept. 1630." "27 Aug. 1642, a weaver dead in the cage."—*Register Books of St. Giles.*



street vagabond to be whipped,<sup>1</sup> and marked that he might be known again, by having a hole bored in the gristle of the right ear, unless some one should step forward and humanely engage to provide the offender with work for a twelvemonth; if he continued his idle and disreputable life, he might for a second offence be executed as a felon unless some one would engage to employ him or her for two years, whilst a third offence was considered felony without any option being left to the criminal of getting such promise of work, and the confirmed idler and vagabond might be punished accordingly.<sup>2</sup> The comparative rarity of the notices of the execution of such rogues and vagabonds in the Seventeenth Century would, however, lead us to think that though the incorrigible vagrant and idler was still amenable to the law and might be sometimes executed for his or her criminal poverty, the statute was but seldom carried out to the utmost severity.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To which Justices of the peace added the practical direction that rogues were to be "stripped naked from the middle upwards, and openly whipped till their bodies shall be bloody."—*Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne*, p. 248. See also *Harleian MSS.* 2057, cited in Sir F. M. Eden's *State of the Poor*, vol. i. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Statutes, 14th Elizabeth, chapter 5. Ruggles' *History of the Poor*, vol. i. p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Johnson, alias Stevens, pro vagrant tang vagabund, incorrigibil. suspend. per collu. usque d'm mortua sit.—Roberts' *Social History of the Southern Counties*, p. 168.





## CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

### *The Manor of Finsbury.*

**T**HE division of the old parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate into two parts is very antient. The present parish of St. Giles, or it was called, the Freedom part of the ancient parish, that governed by the Mayor of London as a part of or as a dependency on the City. The other division of the parish, the Lordship, is that part over which the Lord Mayor had a jurisdiction, not however as Mayor of London, but as Lessee of the ancient Lords of the Manor of Finsbury, as the representative, that is, of the old Lords. Over the Freedom portion, that known as the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate Without, the Lord Mayor has still jurisdiction, since it is part of the City; his control over the Lordship part ceased with the falling in of the lease of the Manor of Finsbury in 1867.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Manor Records* preserved in the Guildhall Library commence in 1581 and close in 1867, when the interest of the City in the property of the Finsbury prebendal stall came to an end.

The name of Finsbury or Finesbury, Finnesburie, Wynesbury or Vynesbury, has been derived by some from the fen or marsh which stretched from the City Walls and covered a large part of the Great Moor; by others from the Vines which might possibly have been growing there at some distant period. Both these etymological guesses however have been set aside by Mr. Kemble, who derives the name Finsbury from the family of Finnes or Fynes which formerly owned these fields and had their *bur* or *burh* here.<sup>1</sup>

The land beyond the verge of the fen appears to have been but of little value for agricultural purposes, yet until, at least, the time of Queen Elizabeth, we have seen that yeomen and agricultural labourers lived there and sowed and reaped such fields as were beyond the requirements of the archers, who, long after the time when the bow had gone out of use as a military weapon, met by long prescriptive right to amuse themselves by practising their art in Finsbury Fields. In the days of Edward III. we may estimate the agricultural value of the Lordship part of this parish by the return of the tax collectors. The produce of the Ninth, the tax levied on wheat, sheep's wool and lamb skins in that reign, was returned at forty shillings for this parish.<sup>2</sup> Half a century before this, among the owners of land in Finsbury or the present parish of St. Luke's, Old Street, were the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, the abbeyes of Chertsey, Ramsey, and Begham, and the Priors of Holy Trinity Minories, of St. Bartholomew's West Smith-

<sup>1</sup> Kemble's *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 59, note (edit 1876). Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, edit. 1882.—It was two members of this family who gave Moorfields to the City.

<sup>2</sup> *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, pp. 196—199.

field, of Merton,<sup>1</sup> and of New place, near Guildford. The property held by these ecclesiastical bodies was returned in 1291 as of the annual value of £18 8s 9d. At the dissolution of the monasteries, 1537, we find among the possessions of the sanctuary of St. Martin's-le-grand, land in St. Giles.

"Doctor Burnell for a garden yn the Barbycan p'ann, iiis iiijd."<sup>2</sup>

So long as the Mayor of London had jurisdiction over this rural tract of land he had his recreations after the fashion of most other country Squires. In common with the citizens he hunted the boar and wild bull so long as they were found in the thickets near London, and the stag and hare until more recent days.<sup>3</sup> He kept his hounds for this purpose, and followed them into the fields by Clerkenwell and Gray's Inn, or over the well-stocked preserves of the Bishops of London, on their Manors of Stebonheath and Hornsey.<sup>4</sup> He had indeed, like other citizens, the right

<sup>1</sup> *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, circa A.D. 1291, pp. 8—13.

As this page is passing through the press, I note from a sale catalogue a deed, "17th Henry VII, 1501, between William Prior of the Priory of Merton, in the County of Surrey, and John Gyles of London, Gentleman, and Anne Haddeley, widow, relating to their premises in Whitecross Street in the Lordship of Fynsbury, dated in the Chapter House of the Priory."

<sup>2</sup> Kempe's *Historical Notices of St. Martin's-le Grand*, p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Fitz-Stephen in Stow's *Survey*.

<sup>4</sup> In 1292, Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London, applied for permission to enclose "two woods of his vill of Stebenheth, lying around his Manor, in that vill, and that he might place beasts of chase therein," but was opposed by the Common Council of London, on the ground that time out of mind they have been used to chase and hunt within the woods aforesaid and without, hares, foxes, rabbits, and other beasts where and when they pleased, and "they beg that the same bishop will keep his woods in the same form that his antecessor and predecessors have kept them."—Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. 28.

to hunt over Middlesex and Surrey, and throughout the Chiltern districts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and the Charters of Richard I. had expressly confirmed to the citizens of London the privilege of hunting wherever they had possessed this right before the time of King Henry,<sup>1</sup> a right jealously guarded by both the Mayor and ordinary Citizens. The kennel or dog-house of the Mayor was near the Manor House, which stood not far from the corner of the present Finsbury Pavement and Chiswell Street; the dog-kennel being near the present South Place to the east of the grounds of the Manor Court. Here lived the Common Hunt,<sup>2</sup> the second officer in rank of the Lord Mayor's establishment, the Master Sword-bearer alone taking precedence of him.<sup>3</sup> The "Common Hunt," the huntsman appointed by the commonalty of the City, was one who wrote esquire after his name by virtue of his office, and was bound to await the commands of the Mayor on Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday in each week, should the great City Magistrate be disposed to hunt or fish on any of those days.<sup>4</sup> After the dog-house and the Citizen-huntsman had both disappeared, the memory of the official residence of the "Common Hunt" long lingered in the name given to a part of the Finsbury Pavement or City road—Dog-house bars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pennant's *London*, p. 848. (fifth edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Albus*, lib. ii.

<sup>3</sup> The Huntsman of the Commonalty, Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 428, 437, 650.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ceremonials*, printed by the Corporation of London.

<sup>5</sup> "The remarkable places and things in St. Giles are. . . the Common Hunt House, . . . Finsbury House, where the Manor Court is kept, the Lord Mayor of London being Lord of the Manor for the time being."—*Parish Clerk's Survey*, 1732.

Whether the invitations to dine at the Finsbury Manor house were too sparing or too exclusive, or whether the cost of maintaining the hunting box of the Lord Mayor appeared too great in the eyes of the City economists, for some reason or another, about the end of the reign of Elizabeth, an agitation seems to have sprang up in the Court of the Common Council in favour of selling the Manor house. This agitation led, in the fifth year of James I. (A.D. 1607), to a resolution of the Court of Aldermen against any such sale:

“Whereas the House at Finsbury and Garden hereto belonging where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen have usually dyned at such tymes as the Courts for the Court of Finsbury were here kept and at sundry other tymes have been thought fit to be kept for their walking and recreation:

It is ordered and resolved by the Mayor and Aldermen; That neither the sayed House nor Gardens shall at any tyme hereafter be lett by the committees for letting the Cityes Lands but shall be reserved and kept for the purpose aforesaid without the special consent of this Court first obteyned.”<sup>1</sup>

An attempt was made after the Restoration of the King to restore the rights and privileges of the Lord Mayor as to hunting, which seem to have been disregarded during the days of the civil war and of the Commonwealth. Under August 25th, 1668, Pepys has this note, “This noon, going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon enquiry I find that he is Clerke of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of

<sup>1</sup> MS. at Guildhall.

a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor begins again an old custome that upon the three first days of Bartholomew fayre, the first there is a match of wrestling in Moorfields...second day shooting; and to-morrow hunting. And this officer is to perform the ceremony of riding through the City, to proclaim or challenge any to shoot."<sup>1</sup> The restoration of monarchy was found, however, to be an easier matter than the restoration of an obsolete custom.

Every Manor in England had its court, with jurisdiction over all civil causes and questions concerning land between inhabitants of the Manor, and adjudicated in all disputes arising out of claims or services within its boundaries. Many Manors also possessed jurisdiction in criminal cases, and had even the power of passing and executing sentences of death on felons, *per fossam et furcam*, in legal phrase—that is, by drowning in the case of women felons, by hanging in the case of men. This was so in Finsbury.<sup>2</sup> At these Courts, all tenants, whether freeholders or copyholders, had the rights and duties of modern juries and possessed much the same jurisdiction in the superior or baronial court. These copyhold tenants formerly held at the will of their lord, and might be ejected at his pleasure. Before the reign of Edward IV., however, it had been decided by the King's

<sup>1</sup> Pepys' *Diary*.

<sup>2</sup> Pauli, in his *Bilder aus alt England*, says that the Lord Mayor had not the right of sentencing to death until 1340, when it was granted to him by Edward the 3rd, that he might exercise it during the absence of the King in Flanders. Pauli cites no authority for this statement. If exercised for the first time about this date, it is not improbable that this was a right appertaining to the Manor of Finsbury which had been leased to the City only a few years before.

Court at Westminster, that the copyholder held a prescriptive right to his possessions so long as he performed the very light duties of his position as a suitor in the Manor Court. The criminal jurisdiction which was inherent in the Manor Court of Finsbury made it necessary that it should possess a prison, and accordingly we find the Manor house of Finsbury at the beginning of the sixteenth century was a quadrangular castellated building, in which the fortress, domestic mansion, and municipal offices were united, and that it possessed such a prison. Here the Lord Mayor lived part of the time of his official life, and here the Recorder of London, acting as the Steward of the Manor, sat and tried offenders taken within the limits of this Manor, and oftentimes criminals who had been taken without these limits were brought for safety to the prison of the Lord Mayor, upon what plea of right it must be confessed is not very apparent.

The small prisons throughout London were kept by sergeants of the Lord Mayor, these sergeants being little better than bailiffs, who got their living by imprisoning men and women and then releasing them upon payment of such fees as the keeper of these prisons might demand. They bought the posts and were allowed to make what they could out of them. Men were taken to these places on forged writs, on charges, often fictitious, of infringing one or other of the many monopolies which had been granted by the Crown, in the days of the first Stuart Kings;<sup>1</sup> for debts not contracted, and for other charges as well as for real offences. Whether rightly imprisoned or wrongly, they remained in prison, after having been acquitted, until they

<sup>1</sup> *Debates in the House of Lords*, 1621 (Camden Soc.) pp. 132—145.



had paid the fees demanded by their gaolers, or they had been carried out of prison by one form or another of gaol fever. An Act of the Common Council, in the reign of Edward III, had provided that the Sheriffs should retain but three or four sergeants at the most, so that the people be not oppressed. There were ample grounds for this limitation.<sup>1</sup> The abuse, however, which enabled gaolers to levy these fees, and so to retain their prisoners after they had been tried and acquitted, remained in full vigour until the latter end of the last century.<sup>2</sup>

In 1621, we find Eliza Cockerell and other women petitioning the House of Lords and stating that they have been imprisoned, first in Finsbury prison and then in Newgate, by Matthias Fowles, upon the bare suspicion of spinning gold and silver thread, and thus infringing the monopoly of Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michell—The Sir Giles Overreach, “a cruel extortioner,” and Greedy, “a hungry Justice of the peace” of Massinger’s well-known play.<sup>3</sup>

At another time we have a petition of Richard Andrewes, stating that a warrant having been issued against someone else of the same surname, he was “maliciously appre-

<sup>1</sup> Norton’s *Commentaries on the Franchises of the City of London*, p. 485, with the notes in illustration. In 1775, in consequence of the disclosures made by John Howard, the Common Council abolished the purchase of these posts, and restricted the perquisites, allowing to the marshaldmen the sum of £30 yearly in lieu of such perquisites. *Annual Register*, 1775.

<sup>2</sup> Howard, in 1774, “could find no single instance in which a gaoler was paid by a fixed salary. In lieu of salary he was allowed to charge certain fees, and these fees had to be paid by every prisoner, whatever the way in which he became a prisoner, to be paid before he could be permitted to leave the prison. *John Howard’s Winter’s Journey*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *New Way to Pay Old Debts*.

hended" and taken to Finsbury prison and then to Newgate, where he was kept twenty weeks, and then only discharged upon giving security to pay eight pounds to his captors, together with a release of all suits and actions arising out of the false imprisonment to which he had been subjected.<sup>1</sup>

While this and other prisons were made the means of extortion by the City sergeants, Finsbury Court was one of the places used for the trials of offenders, against the peace of the City. William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, in 1584, says in a letter addressed to Lord Burleigh, "Thursday we kept the General Session at Westminster Hall, for Middlesex. Surelie it was very great! We sat the whole day and after, also at Fynsburie." Two years after he mentions that he "did sitt at Fynsburie," and adds, "after that I went into London, and kept the sessions there, where we had little to do. At afternoone went I to Fynsbury, and did likewise keep the session for Middlesex."<sup>2</sup>

In 1695 during riots in London, incited by popular discontent at the delay in paying the wages of the soldiers of the army and of the seamen of the royal navy, and at the large deductions made at the time of payment, together with the discovery of the extensive bribery which had been practised by the Mayor and Corporation in order to buy the passage of the Orphan bill, and other measures in which it was interested, through the House of Commons, the prison of Finsbury Manor house was burnt to the ground, in defiance of a strong force of horse and foot soldiers posted to protect it. The attitude of the rabble

<sup>1</sup> *Third Report of Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. ii. pp. 241—291.

quite characteristic of a London mob, we are told was so menacing to the "French refugees," that the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs were directed to call out part of the militia for their defence.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, chap. xxi. *Pictorial History of England*, vol. iv. p. 81. *Seventh Report of Commission on Historical MSS.*, p. 585.





## CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

### *The Field and the Moor.*

**A**NY, even the briefest, account of the parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate would be incomplete if it omitted all notice of the fields which under the names of Finsbury Fields or of Moorfields were for the most part included within its boundaries. At the end of the fifteenth century some steps had been already taken to reclaim Moorfields. One of our City Chroniclers<sup>1</sup> tells us that in 1474-5, "the Mayre havyng a grete mynde to have the wallys of the citie repayred, by a consent of the Benche and the Comyn Counsayll caused the Moorefeld to be serched, and there provyded for bryke and lyme: he first caused the erthe to be dyggd and tempred, and then sette men to worke to moolde; and thence sent into the West Contre, and there purveyed wode for to bren it: and that done, sent into Kent, and there purveyed chalke, that shortly was brought into the sayd Moorefelde,

<sup>1</sup> Fabyan's *Chronicle of London*.

and there, in a klyn, whiche he in that reason had provyded, was brent and made lyme of, a grete futherance of that worke."

When the strife between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, the wars of the Roses, had ceased, the fortifications of London became of less importance, and, when no longer useful for defence, the walls fell into decay and the ditch was neglected. No sooner had the accession of Henry VII given a prospect of lasting peace, than Sir Thomas More speaks of the ditch as in some parts overgrown with shrubs.<sup>1</sup> In the latter half of the sixteenth century, we read that part of it was filled up with earth and the rest of the ditch "neglected and forced into a very narrow, and that same a filthy channel, or altogether stopped up, for gardens planted and houses built thereon."<sup>2</sup> Then—not however without protest from persons of delicate stomachs—table vegetables and spring salads were reared in the sewage and sold in the City markets. The ditch could not indeed be wholly dispensed with. In moments of danger it was hastily cleaned out and made available as a means of defence. When however it was proposed to throw up earthworks in Finsbury Fields for the protection of the archers against attack, as once at least it was proposed during the reign of Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> and again when

<sup>1</sup> More in his *Utopia* is generally understood to refer to London, when he says, "the Cite is compassed aboute with a heighe and thicke stone walle full of turrettes, and bulwarkes. A drie ditche, but deape and brode and overgrown with bushes, briers and thornes, goeth aboute thre sides or quarters of the City. To the fourth side the river itselfe serveth for a ditche."—*Book the Second*.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Hunsdon, writing to Sir Wm. Cecil in 1570, "touching Northumberland and the other rebels," says, "if there was a fort made at Bunhill it would be a great security for the archers of Finsbury Fields."—*Calendar of Domestic State Papers of Queen Elizabeth*.

a long line of such military works was erected during the contest between Charles I. and the Parliament, the ditch again assumed importance as in the days of King John and his Barons, or as in those of Edward IV. and the Lancastrians. At such times we read of attempts<sup>1</sup> being made to clear out the ditch. When, however, the momentary panic had passed away it was again neglected, and at length was gradually filled up with sewage, until it was known only by name. When this happened that part of the moor near the City was partially drained. But until houses were built over the surface, and sewers constructed, though these fields might be dry in summer, they were marsh-like in winter. As long as the fields were open, the mud which was removed from the City streets was thrown there, and tended to maintain the reputation of these fields as "a moorish ground." In 1512, Robert Archley, Lord Mayor, made further progress in draining the moor.<sup>2</sup> The rubbish thrown here seems, however, for a time to have had but little effect in making solid earth; so that the same chronicler, often quoted by me, despairing of any improvement, says:—"It seemeth to me that if it be made level with the battlements of the City, yet will it be little the dryer."<sup>3</sup> It was, in truth, a very

<sup>1</sup> "1553. This year the town decche from Newgate unto Aldersgat was stopped up with brycke, and made playne with the erthe." *Grey Friar's Chronicle*.

1595. "Easter Day, direction from the Lord Mayor that two fifteenthhs be raised to cleanse the towne ditches."—*Churchwardens Accounts of St. Alphage*. Edit. T. J. Elwin.

1603. The "Moore ditch" was ordered by the Queen's Commissioners to be cleansed, the expense to be shared between the City and county of Middlesex.—*Calendar of Domestic State Papers of Queen Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Dugdale on *Embanking*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

"Slough of Despond." It has, indeed, been suggested<sup>1</sup> that Bunyan sketched the obstacle which lay in the way of the progress of his Pilgrim from the swamp of Moorfields. Soon after his time, however, a marked improvement might be seen.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the space on the east side of what is now Finsbury Pavement and Artillery Place was thus divided: the site of Finsbury Square was known as the Upper Moorfields; separated at first by a pallsade, afterwards by a low wall; another space, extending from the south side of the present Finsbury Square to Eldon Street, was called the Middle Moorfields; the ground reaching from Eldon Street to the City wall, and from Broad Street to Finsbury Pavement, was known by the name of the Lower Moorfields.<sup>2</sup> The Upper and Middle Moorfields were merely surrounded by trees, but the Lower walks of Moorfields were planted with care, and in 1761 were thus described:—"The fields are divided into four different squares by very strong but clumsy wooden rails, each [square] containing a large grass plat, surrounded on each side by a row of trees. Between these squares, which are generally denominated 'the quarters,' are gravel walks; and one, extending from east to west, with a row of trees on each side, is usually denominated the City Mall; a great concourse of well-dressed citizens, of both sexes, walking there every Sunday noon in fine weather, and on evenings."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Thompson, the author of *Chronicles of London Bridge*, by *An Antiquary*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Charter of Charles I., the Moorfields are spoken of as the "Inner Moor and Outward Moor, in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, St. Stephen's Coleman Street, and St. Botolph's Bishopsgate Street."—Norton's *Commentaries*, p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> *London and its Environs Described*, vol. v. p. 10. London, 1761.

The remainder of the fields, as far as Shoreditch were part of the prebendal property of St. Paul's Cathedral: the Lower walks of Moorfields, however, had been given by Mary and Catherine Finnes or Fynes to the City authorities in trust for the use of the citizens of London. When the ground was made available for the recreation of the people in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Richard Johnson, one of the minor poets of that date, published in 1607, a pamphlet entitled, "The Pleasant Walks of Moorfield, being the gift of two Sisters; now beautified, to the continuing fame of this worthy City." These walks were formerly the City park, and here the fashion as well as the riffraff met some for health, some for amusement and gambling, others for pocket-picking. At a time when Aldersgate Street was inhabited by peers; when the Duke of Norfolk lived either at Broken Wharf, Thames Street,<sup>1</sup> or in Charterhouse Square, and Prince Rupert kept house in Beech Street; when the Portuguese ambassador lived in Tower Street, and the Spanish ambassador in the Barbican, and other ambassadors in or near Aldersgate Street; and there was no such place as "the West End," Moorfields was the St. James's Park of the Court and City—a place to be proud of, full of "delicate walks,"<sup>2</sup> and noisy with the throng of pleasure seekers. For a century and a half these fields presented a scene of great liveliness, and became a proverb for a riotous assemblage. Instead of roundabout phrases about "hubbub and confusion," men said of any great tumult, "It's as bad as Moorfields." Thus a royalist writer, speaking of the Parliament, in King

<sup>1</sup> See *Household Expenses of Sir Thomas Howard*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlain—*The New State of England*, 1693; also, Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 302.



Charles I.'s time, says, "By the noise they made at every factious resolve, you would take it to be a Moorfields tumult at a wrestling, rather than a sober council at a debate."<sup>1</sup> Not that the assemblies gathered here were at all times drawn together to look at a wrestling. The fields were the meeting ground of the apprentices, the place where workmen met to discuss the fall of wages and the rise in price in the necessities of life, the spot used for political gatherings of all kinds when folk-motes had ceased, and discontent or patriotism could find no sufficient outlet in the Cemmon Hall.<sup>2</sup>

A more motley assemblage, indeed, than that which thronged Moorfields can hardly be imagined. The small pent-house shops which soon after 1600 began to spring up on the outskirts of the Moor, were tenanted by butchers,<sup>3</sup> as they were called: jobbing tailors, and renovators of old clothes, always ready to leave their shop boards and to join in the scuffles which went on before their doors. Under trees planted across the lower part of the Moor were stalls of second-hand booksellers,<sup>4</sup> where antiquaries rummaged for black-letter tracts, and sometimes, as Ralph Thoresby tells us, found treasures.<sup>5</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> Lloyd's *Worthies*. Or, to take an earlier instance from Shakespear's *Henry VIII.*, see act v. scene 3: "The Palace Yard" has this stage direction: "Noise and tumult, within;" and the porter exclaims, "You'll leave your noise anon, ye rascals; Do you take the court for Paris gardens? . . . . Is this Moorfields to muster in?"

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Register*, December 1769.

<sup>3</sup> Cleveland's *Character of a London Diurnal Maker*.

<sup>4</sup> *Tom Brown's Works*, vol. iv. p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> "1709, Jan. 29. In Moorfields bought a very rare edition of the New Testament, in English, printed anno 1536, with Lessons from the Old Testament, according to the Salisbury use."—Thoresby's *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 33. See also pp. 121, 126.

lines stretched from tree to tree, slips of ballads fluttered in the breeze, and in the open space on bright starry nights, or when an eclipse was impending, the telescope man invited the curious to peep through the "optic tube."<sup>1</sup> In one corner of the ground or another, wrestling matches gathered crowds of spectators for three or four centuries,<sup>2</sup> and boxing and cudgel-playing went on continually for the amusement of loiterers, and the advantage of the thieves who frequented these fields. Here, too, the place where the thief plied his vocation witnessed his punishment; for when that salutary punishment, flogging at the cart's tail, was in vogue, Moorfields was chosen as the proper spot for publicly whipping the thief.<sup>3</sup> A lock-up-house for rioters, felons and other offenders against the law stood in these fields.<sup>4</sup> Here, also, were tables for thimble-riggers and stalls for vendors of ginger-bread and spice-nuts. Punch with his unfailing attractions, jugglers with their tricks of dexterity, and merry-andrews with their ready gibes, collected little crowds of idlers.<sup>5</sup> Here, again, were ballad singers, sturdy beggars, and cripples, and at night, in addition to these, the prowling foot-pad, and the burglar. In quieter parts of the ground grave ambassadors might be seen taking the air, in company with some of the noblemen resident near

<sup>1</sup> Milton—*Calamy's Life and Times*, vol. i. p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> "1661, June 28th: Went to Moorfields, and there walked, and stood and saw the wrestling, which I never saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen."—*Pepys' Diary*. "I was hemmed in like a wrestler in Moorfields."—Bragg, in *Observer*, December 25, 1706.

<sup>3</sup> Burton's *Diary of the Long Parliament*, vol. i. p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> See in *Annual Register* 1775 an account of a riot to rescue a person confined in this lock-up-house.

<sup>5</sup> A French traveller, speaking of Moorfields in 1672, says, "There are certain meadows near the town, where there are always jugglers and merry-andrews."—*Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p. 573.

the Moor;<sup>1</sup> whilst in retired corners, too frequently to create wonder, the gentlemen of the period settled their quarrels with the sword. In a play written in the early part of the sixteenth century one of the characters is made to say—

“If you desire to prove your sword, mine hangs  
As near my right hand, and will as soon out.  
. . . . . : Walk into Moorfields,—  
I dare look on your Toledo. Do not shew  
A foolish valour in the streets, to make  
Work for shopkeepers, and their clubs, 'tis sourvy,  
And the women will laugh at us.”<sup>2</sup>

Beyond all these, out of the way of the crowd, acres of linen, drying on lines, or laid on the grass to be bleached, whitened the distance, the laundresses, as was necessary, meanwhile watching their property.<sup>3</sup> Later than this, in the last century, Moorfields was the place where George Whitefield gathered crowds to listen spell-bound to his fervid preaching.

These fields served one purpose of modern clubs. The caterer for news frequented Moorfields in summer, as he frequented the central aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral in winter,<sup>4</sup> for the same reason that merchants now go on 'Change. Here the last rumour of party might be heard

<sup>1</sup> Bassompierre's *Embassy* (Eng. trans., 1819).

<sup>2</sup> Massinger's *City Madam*, act i. scene 2.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Johnson, in the *Crown Garland*, speaks of Moorfields as a place—

“Where lovingly both man and wife  
May take the evening air;  
And London dames to dry their clothes  
May thither still repair.”

Again, in Massinger's *City Madam* (act iv. scene 4), we read:—

“*Anne*. You talk'd of Hebe,  
Of Iris, and I know not what; but were they  
Dress'd as we are? They were sure some chandler's daughters  
Bleaching linen in Moorfields.”

<sup>4</sup> *Whimzies, or a New Cast of Characters*. London, 1631.

and the latest piece of sedition be found cast on the ground, none knew by whom; here too changes in fashions were published, and citizens went here to learn the manners of the Court and polite society, and to note the habits of their fellow citizens. Thus, in a play of Shadwell,<sup>1</sup> a lady says: "Where did you ever see a lady of my quality walk with her own husband? Well, I shall never teach a citizen manners. I warrant you think you are in Moorfields seeing haberdashers walking with their whole fireside." And one of the characters, in the writings of an earlier dramatist, says to a spendthrift, "Thou wilt undo thyself. Alas! I behold thee with pity, not with anger: thou common shotelock, gull of all companies, methinks I see thee already walking in Moorfields without a cloke, with half a hat without a band, a doublet with three buttons without a girdle, a hose with one point and no garter, with a cudgel under thy arm, borrowing or begging threepence."<sup>2</sup>

The stage near the Windmill tavern, opposite Bethlehem was famous for grinning matches. In these fields in the middle of the last century, "Topham the strong man" exhibited feats of strength which gained for him the titles of "Hercules" and "The Modern Samson." His first public exhibition was that of pulling against a horse; he did this by lying upon his back, and placing his feet against the dwarf wall that divided Upper from Lower Moorfields.<sup>3</sup> He was able to roll up pewter plates as other men rolled up paper; and lift two hundredweight with his little finger. One of his exhibitions was to

<sup>1</sup> *The Scourers*. 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Marston's *Eastward Hoe*, act i. scene 1.

<sup>3</sup> Nelson's *History of Islington*, pp. 125-130.

strike a round bar of iron an inch in diameter upon his naked arm and bend it like a bow. "Had he not abounded with good nature," said one who had witnessed his performances, "the men might have been in fear for the safety of their persons, and the women for that of their pewter shelves, as he could instantly roll up both."<sup>1</sup> Were his feats of strength not so well attested as they are, they would be incredible.

The Flying Horse tavern, Little Moorfields, which had an entrance in what is now New Union Street, was long renowned as a suburban place of entertainment. The yard of this inn had apparently been arranged for theatrical entertainments before theatres were built for this purpose, and is thus described by a French traveller at the end of the last century :—"There is an alehouse near a place they call Moorfields, where the company are entertained with music and merry-andrews who perform in their turns from morning till night on purpose to divert those who come to drink, and where the company give themselves to every kind of gallantry. There are a number of actors of both sexes, who are painted to appear fair; and, as the place is built like an amphitheatre, the principal sports are made upon the open grass-plot in the middle, which being the same in this place as the stage in the theatre, a merry company may enjoy the diversions very much at their ease."<sup>2</sup> When the assemblies at this tavern were prohibited, on account of their very questionable character, boxing and cudgell playing were carried on in the Upper Moorfields, where, until the middle of the last century, the ring as it was called was under the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of William Hutton*, edited by Jewitt, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1791, p. 928.

direction of a master of the ceremonies well known to the pleasure seekers of London by the name of "Old Vinegar."

State policy and popular attachment to archery long kept Finsbury Fields open for this sport, at once an amusement and an exercise for national defence; hence Henry VII., in 1498, caused "all the gardens which had been continued time out of mind without Moorgate of London to be destroyed, and of them to be made a plain field for archers to shoot in."<sup>1</sup> By the king's directions all the hedges in these fields were levelled because they hindered shooting with the bow. In this reign the great archery-grounds of Finsbury Fields extended from the open country on the north to the walls of the City; beyond Grub Street the meadows were dotted in every direction with archers' marks, pillars of stone or wood supporting a target crowned by the representation of a flying bird, a serpent, a swan, or other figure according to the fancy of those who erected them. There were as many as 164 of these marks in 1594, each distinguished by a name. As it was an age that loved alliteration, one was called Daye's Deed, another Dunstane's Darling; or, respectively, Pakes his Pillar, Partridge his Primrose. The shortest distance from one mark to another was nine-score yards; the greatest nineteen. By 1737 the marks had been reduced to twenty-one, and the archers had degenerated almost in the same proportion; the greatest distance being now only thirteen, and the least about three-score yards. Compare this with the times when none were allowed to shoot at marks less distant than eleven-score yards; or with the almost miraculous shots mentioned in the popular ballads, when a hazel rod was

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Chronicle*, sub anno 1498, *ib.* 1514.

set up at the distance of four hundred yards to be shot-at!<sup>1</sup>

Sunday was the favourite day for the exercise of the archers, and these fields were the customary archery ground.<sup>2</sup> The notices in the chronicles at the time when gunpowder was taking the place of the arrow, and the bow was beginning to be disregarded as a military weapon, are numerous. I will cite but one of such notices in this place. An inhabitant of Cripplegate tells us under the year 1551, "on Bartholomew daie was kept a wrestling and the Sundaie after a showting in Finsburie Fields by Mr. Sheriffes both in one daie. The best game of the standard xiiis. iiid. in money, the second game xs., the iii. game vis. viiid., the iiij game vs., and the best game of the flight xiiis. iiid., the second game xs., the third game vis. viiid., the fourth game vis., summe £5 which was paid in money to the wynners at the coste of booth the sheriffes and no more daies after for this year."<sup>3</sup>

We are not told how far the order of Henry VII to keep Finsbury Fields open for archers was complied with. It seems, however, to have been but partially obeyed, since seventeen years later we read, "Before this time the towns about London, as Islington, Hoxton, Shoreditch, and others, hath so enclosed the common fields with hedges and ditches, that neither the young men of the City might walk for their pleasure in the fields, except either their

<sup>1</sup> Knight's *London*, vol. i. pp. 177, 178. *Proceedings of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Soc.*

<sup>2</sup> Wriothesley's *Chronicle*. Wrestling might be practised elsewhere, but the archers of London rarely assembled except in Finsbury Field. "1557. This yeare on Bartlemew daye was kept a wrestling at Clarkinwell, and the Sunday after was a shootinge kept in Fynnesberie field." *Ib.*

<sup>3</sup> Wriothesley's *Chronicle*. On Archery in Finsbury Field, see two papers by A. J. Kempe in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of Feb. and March 1832.

bows or arrows were broken or taken away, or the honest and substantial persons arrested and indicted, saying that no Londoner should go out of the City but in the highways. This saying sore grieved the Londoners, and suddenly this year a great number of the City assembled themselves in the morning, and a turner in a fool's cap came crying through the City, 'Shovels and spades!' and so many people followed that it was wonder: and within a short space all the hedges about the town were cut down and the ditches filled, and everything made plain, the workmen were so diligent. The king's council hearing of this assembly came to the Grey Friars, and sent for the mayor and council of the City to know the cause; which declared to them the nuisance done to the citizens, and their commodities and liberties taken from them, though they would not, yet the commonalty and young persons who were damnified by the nuisance would pluck up and remedy the same. And when the king's council had heard the answer they dissimulated the matter, and commanded the mayor to see that no other thing were attempted, and to call home the citizens; which when they had done their enterprise came home before the king's council, and the mayor departed without any more harm doing, and so after the fields were never hedged."<sup>1</sup> The makers of these gardens, however, did not give up their plots of ground easily, and in the Chronicle of the Grey Friar's, six-and-thirty years after, we read, "The iiiiij day of August, of wych was Sonday, much people met and set to work from Newgate all along by the City walls to pull down the gardens that was made along by the walls of the City with houses, and so all along unto [Bishopsgate]."

<sup>1</sup> Hall's *Chronicle*.



The Government was jealous of those tumultuous assemblages of the London apprentices, always ripe for mischief, and often for bloodshed. The policy of encouraging the use of the bow was, however, so paramount, that little notice was taken of these acts of lawlessness.

The turbulence of the apprentices is illustrated by a document which belongs to the history of Moorfields. In 1598, towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the Lord Mayor had offended the apprentices, by punishing some of their body—undeservedly, as they declared. Whipping and the pillory had been a sore affront to their dignity, and they determined to resent it. What they proposed to do may be gathered from the proclamation, for it is almost regal in its language, which they put forth. It ran as follows:—

“After our most hartie commendacions unto you good brethren and Prentyses, trusting in God that you are in good health, as we were at the making hereof. The cause of our wryting unto you at this time is for to know whether you will put up this iniurye or no: for to se our brethren whypt and set on the pyllory without a cause, which is a greyef to us. Desyryng you to send an aunswere on waye or other for if you will not put it up we do give consent to geather our selves to geater uppou Bartholomew day in the feildes, some with daggers, some with staves, some with one weapon, some with another, such as may be least mistrusted, and to meete in the feyldes betwixt Islington and London betwixt 3 and 4 of the cloke in the afternoone, against my Lo. Mayor go to the wrestlinge,<sup>1</sup> and there be revenged of him; but yf he go not to the wrestlynge, then to be

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 94.

revenged of him at his house where he dwelleth; and thus we end, committing you to God. Amen."

Three years before, in 1595, we read "There was a great stir in London with the apprentices, for the good of the Commonwealth, and that eighteen hundred of them had pulled down the pillories in Cheapside and Leadenhall, and set up a gallows against the door of the Lord Mayor, whom they declared they would hang if he chanced to come out; and that three thousand were lying in the fields with bills and clubs to rescue the apprentices if anything were done."<sup>1</sup>

The whole history of the London apprentices—for they have a history as interesting, and every whit as important as that of the wealthiest of the City companies, and far more noisy,—is bound up with the history of Moorfields. It is impossible however, in a chapter of the History of Cripplegate, to deal at any length with the actions of this turbulent body. Those who would know something of the proceedings of the City apprentices in their lighter mood, boiling over with mischief and wild with delight at its success, can read this in the Introduction to Sir Walter Scott's "Fortunes of Nigel;" those who would learn its power in darker moments may gather it from the account of Evil Mayday in the history of the reign of Henry VIII, and the terrible retribution which followed. The document just cited is, underneath its mimicry of royalty, a fair indication of the spirit which animated the London

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Domestic Series.* In the next year, 1596, the movement of the agriculturists of Oxfordshire against enclosures threatened to become formidable, because of the contemplated march of the rioters to London and of the arrangement that on their arrival they should be joined by the London Apprentices. *Ib.*

apprentices for three or four centuries. A couple of extracts will shew their temper in later times.

1664, "Last Saturday a great tumult in the City occasioned by two apprentices put into the pillory in Cheapside, which the apprentices so ill resented that they rose in a great body and rescued their fellow apprentices out of the pillory and brake it all in pieces, but a new one was erected presantly, and the Mayor came well guarded, and saw the sentence executed upon them, and afterward they were whipped, whereupon the apprentices appeared again in great numbers, and deforced Ireland's house, the master of the apprentices. Great watches on Saturday night by the City trained bands. On Sabbath they meet in Moorfields and in several places in the City, some say 4000 or 5000,"<sup>1</sup>

It was difficult to enforce punishment, dangerous indeed to attempt it upon members of this body; an apprentice tied to the cart to be whipped and placed in the pillory was rescued in the face of royal guards and of the City trained bands.<sup>2</sup> A few years later than the date of the extract just given we have an illustration of the close union which existed among the London apprentices.

"1682, Six apprentices of the City were found guilty of a riot committed on the 6th of Nov. last, for which they were fined twenty marks, and sentenced to stand on the pillory, which was accordingly performed, two in Cheapside, one in Cornhill, the others in various parts of the City, but instead of having any abuse offered them,—which is usual in such cases—not a pin's head was flung at them, instead they had money, oranges, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> *Seventh Report of Hist. Commission on MSS.*, p. 575.

<sup>2</sup> *Court and Times of James the First*, vol. ii. p. 247.

thrown to them during their stay before the pillory." For the authorities did not venture to place them *in* the pillory—and "a bottle of wine was brought to the two in Cheapside to drink the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftesbury's health."<sup>1</sup>

In 1641, the Artillery Company, which had hitherto exercised at the old Artillery Ground, near Devonshire Square, obtained a lease from the City of their present ground, known for a long time as the New Artillery Ground. This was not granted however without opposition from the dwellers in Bunhill Row, "and the parts near adjoining," who feared that their views over the fields would be intercepted by the brick wall enclosing this ground, and who drew up a formidable list of evils impending on the occupation of this spot for the exercise of "the military gentlemen of London."<sup>2</sup> Near the Artillery Ground, on the rising ground of Windmill Hill, was a Cannon Foundry, which when disused for that purpose was occupied by John Wesley and George Whitefield as a chapel.<sup>3</sup> The fields adjoining the Upper Moorfields near Bunhill Row were made the burial-place of those who died in one or other of the frequent plagues. Pennant tells us

<sup>1</sup> *Seventh Report of Hist. Commission on MSS.*, pp. 406, 481.

<sup>2</sup> In their petition May 19, 1641, they state that "the military gentlemen of London are making suit to have these fields for their military garden, and intend to build a high brick wall about it, to the great inconvenience of those who dwell in the neighbourhood, of the archers, who go out this way to recreate themselves, to the danger of riders whose horses will be frightened by the guns, of travellers who will have no opportunity of escaping thieves or sedans conveying the plague-stricken to the pest house, besides the disturbance of the sick, and damage to house property," they accordingly "pray that the military may be restrained from building the wall and the rights of petitioners be preserved." See *Lords' Journals*, iv. 258. *Fourth Report of Hist. Commission on MSS.*, 64, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iv.

us "that in 1549, the bones from the charnel house and chapel of St. Paul were removed and flung into Finsbury Fields by Protector Somerset, who wanted the stones for the palace he was building in the Strand—the present Somerset House—but which he did not live to inhabit."<sup>1</sup> In these fields suicides were buried. Of those burned for religion in Queen Mary's reign, or who died in prison before they could be burned, many found a resting-place for their bodies here;<sup>2</sup> and here also malefactors were hung.<sup>3</sup> When the Great Fire had made the inhabitants of large parts of the City houseless, sheds, tents, and extemporized buildings were set up here, where numbers of the people lived till their houses were rebuilt.

The kind of population in these fields made them dangerous after nightfall. The neighbourhood of Moorfields was tenanted by people of doubtful reputation. We have a reference to their evil reputation in a book published about 1670,<sup>4</sup> where we read that—

"Two gentlemen of Stepney going homeward over Moorfields about twelve of the clock at night, were staid

<sup>1</sup> Pennant's *London*, page 342, 5th edition (1813).

<sup>2</sup> "The ix day October (1555) was a servyngman, the penter's broder, that was bornyd at Staynes, was bered in Morefeld, besyd the Doge-howse, becaus he was not resseff (was not to receive) the ryctes of the chyrche and thys lawe." "This was the usual practice with those who, by a natural death (if such a term can be applied to the result of imprisonment and privation) escaped the stake and the faggots. See in Foxe, vol. iii. page 537, a graphic cut of such a burial, with archers from the neighbouring butts as spectators."—Machyn's *Diary*, and note by the Editor.

<sup>3</sup> One of the last instances of executions here before that of those hung for participation in the Gordon Riots occurred in 1767, when John Williamson, a journey-man shoemaker, was executed for the murder of his wife and "the Gallows was erected in the centre of Moorfields fronting Chiswell Street."—*Annual Register*, 1767.

<sup>4</sup> New Help to Discourse.

by an impertinent constable with many frivolous questions, more by half to show his office than his wit; one whereof was, 'If they were not afraid to go home at that time of night?' They answered 'No.' "Well," said he, 'I shall let you pass at this time; but if you should be knocked on the head before you get home, you cannot but report that there was a good watch kept in Moorfields.'

The increased safety of Moorfields was chiefly due to the thoroughfares which were opened upon them and to the stationary population which settled around them and gradually made them eligible for building purposes. In 1760 a general Act of Parliament was obtained for widening "certain streets, lanes or passages within the City of London and the Liberties thereof." Though nothing is mentioned about Cripplegate in this act, in the next year the houses on the south side of Fore Street were taken down, the roadway widened to the extent of nine feet and the houses which have lately (1882) been removed then built.<sup>1</sup> In the same year the City Road was opened for public traffic;<sup>2</sup> in 1768 the Corporation of the City commenced building in and around Finsbury Square on the land leased from the prebendal stall in

<sup>1</sup> "The Committee of City Lands contracted with Mr. Blagden, who lately purchased several of the gates of London, for the ground from of houses, the fronts to stand 9 feet backwader than the fronts Moorgate on the south side of Fore Street to Cripplegate, 1,000 feet in length, at 7/- per foot, on which he is to build one uniform row of the present houses; and he is to give £10,000 security to complete the same in four years from Midsummer next."—*Annual Register*, 1761, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> "June 29, 1761. This day the new road from Islington to Old Street was opened for all passengers and carriages, and the Dog house bar taken away. The road is called the City Road, has a foot path on each side, is well lighted, and is indisputably the finest road about London."—*Annual Register*, 1761.

St. Paul's Cathedral; at the same time a great part of the narrow and tortuous Beech Lane was widened into Beech Street.

In 1774, a proposal was made for a canal from Moorfields to Waltham. This project, though favoured by the Court of Common Council, never got beyond being a project. A portion of the scheme, however, was afterwards carried out in the canal and basin in the City Road. Over and above the advantage of having boats and barges plying between Finsbury and Waltham, the citizens were promised an unfailing supply of water to extinguish fires; whilst the canal was to aid in draining the moor and in carrying off the sewage of the City. In the centre of Moorfields, near the junction of Chiswell Street with Artillery place, was to have been a circular basin surrounded by a broad gravel walk, with other walks radiating from it; a second and larger basin was to have been made in Holywell. From thence the canal was to have skirted the south side of the Hackney Road, and to have gone through Homerton, Tottenham, and Enfield, to Waltham Abbey. It was warranted to bring health, wealth, butcher's meat, and unimpeachable milk to London.<sup>1</sup>

On the failure of this scheme steps were taken to build on the Upper and Middle Moorfields. The ground was for the most part the property of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who were unable, without the intervention of Parliament, to lease it for a term sufficiently long to induce builders to erect houses on the estate. In 1768 an act had been obtained to enable Dr. Wilson, the prebendary of Finsbury to grant a lease of the estate of his prebend for ninety-nine years, to the Lord Mayor, and

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1774, page 121.

Citizens of London.<sup>1</sup> This act recites that Edward Moyle, prebendary of Halliwell and Finsbury, by deed dated Dec. 14, 1554, let this estate for ninety-nine years, to the Lord Mayor and Citizens, for the reserved rent of £89 8s. 4d.; and that a subsequent prebendary, John Spendilove, in consideration of twenty fodder of lead given by the City for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, extended this term by an additional period of 70 years. In 1777, Dance, the architect, designed the houses on the west side of the Square, the present Artillery Place. It was not, however, until 1789 that the north side of the Square was let for building purposes. The year after this the east side of the Square was commenced, and in 1791 the south side, in a line from Sun Street to Chiswell Street. Till this time the site of Finsbury Square was covered with rubbish; the snow swept from the streets of the City was brought away in carts, and thrown here. When the building of the houses commenced, a vast accumulation of paving pebbles, taken up from all parts of the metropolis, where they were being replaced by side pavements, encumbered the ground.

No sooner had the houses on the south side of the new square been finished than an accident occurred. Pennant tells us, "To the disgrace of the builders, the houses on the south fell down almost as soon as they were built, and the rest of that side is in a most perilous state."<sup>2</sup> The City caused a survey to be made, and the demolition of that side depends on the resolutions of the

<sup>1</sup> The next year, in 1769, the Common Council approved of the lease between the City and the Prebendary of Finsbury for 99 years.—*Annual Register*.

<sup>2</sup> Pennant's *London*, p. 349. Fifth edition (1813).



next Common Council. Possibly," he adds, "the gibbeting of a builder in effigy in the middle of the area may have a happy effect throughout the capital."<sup>1</sup> I find no record that this advice was followed. As soon as the houses of the Square were completed, the City decided in a spirit of economy, but in disregard of other considerations, to lease it to the New River Company, for the site of a reservoir. Happily this decision was not carried into execution, and in 1799, at an expense of about four thousand pounds, the garden in the centre was laid out and fenced in.<sup>2</sup>

On New Year's Day 1787 a portion of the inmates of Bethlehem Hospital were removed from Moorfields to the new hospital of St. Luke in Old Street Road. At that time this hospital was not only in the suburbs, but stood really in the country. The eye ranged over fields and copses to Highgate, and only on the south side was there anything like a street. Although additions had been made in 1788 to Bethlehem Hospital for the reception of incurable lunatics, even with these additions it was found inadequate for the number of these unfortunates, and in 1810 a site for a new hospital was procured in St. George's Fields, now also a densely peopled part of London.

<sup>1</sup> The notices of the fall of houses in the various volumes of the *Annual Register* of the last century are frequent. The buildings must have been very slight, though the consequences of their fall were too often fatal. Under June 17, 1775, is noted in the *Annual Register* of that year, "Between five and six in the afternoon, the following melancholy accident happened in Chiswell Street. One of seven houses building on contract by Mr. Gilbert, grocer, fell in, occasioned by the slightness of the workmanship, and buried twelve persons in the ruins; three of whom were killed, the rest were taken out, about seven so much hurt that they were taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with very little hopes of recovery."

*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1799, page 588.

This hospital was opened for the reception of lunatics in 1814. The old site of the Bethlehem Hospital was soon built over. There was more, however, built on than this site. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* of November 1812, we read that "the Building Committee of the City of London have marked out the ground for the new square—the present Finsbury Circus—intended to be built in Moorfields, as the extensive work is about to be carried into immediate execution." These Lower walks of Moorfields, as I have already mentioned, had been left to the City for the recreation of the citizens by two members of the Fynes family; the Corporation of London, however, procured an Act of Parliament by which they ceased to be trustees, and became owners of this property. Thus perished the people's park, after existing for about eight hundred years.





## CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

### *The Plague of 1665.*

**L**ONDON, like the other cities of Europe during the middle ages, was desolated by frequent pestilences caused in great measure by the neglect of sanitary precautions as to drainage, and by the personal uncleanness of its inhabitants. It is true that in London there were laws which directed all householders to remove nuisances from before their doors.<sup>1</sup> More dependence however seems to have been placed upon the activity of packs of hungry dogs, herds of swine and swarms of kites and ravens,<sup>2</sup> for

<sup>1</sup> "1466. This year one named John Derby, Alderman, forasmuch as he refused to carry or to pay for the carriage of a dead dog and for unfitting language which he gave unto the Mayor, he was by a Court of Aldermen deemed to a fine of £1, which he paid every farthing."—Fabyan's *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> "The raven may croak at his pleasure . . . there is a penalty attached to destroying them, as they say that they kept the streets of the towns free from filth. It is the same with the kites, which are so tame, that they often take out of the hands of little children, the bread smeared with butter given to them by mothers."—*Venetian Relation of England, circa 1500* (Camden Soc.) p. 11; also Sir Thos. More's *English Works*, p. 574a.

carrying away carrion and decayed vegetables from the streets, than upon the obedience of the citizens to these laws. An Abbot of Dijon, who visited London in the days of William Rufus, speaks of the number of small fierce dogs which swarmed through the streets and gathered by night in front of St. Paul's, so that none ventured to pass that way.<sup>1</sup> These were the real City scavengers, and were encouraged as dogs are in Constantinople now, and for the same reason. Many of the citizens kept pigs in the small gardens before or behind their houses, but if these pigs strayed into the streets they might be killed or seized, dedicated to St. Anthony, provided with a badge of office and turned out to assist in routing among the litter of the streets, and to feed upon the offal.<sup>2</sup> In the sixteenth century, however, the College of Physicians denounced dogs as one means of spreading the plague, so that whenever pestilence threatened to be more than usually severe, the dogs and even the cats were directed to be killed, and dog butchers were appointed to carry out this edict.<sup>3</sup> Lord Bacon tells us that the dogs so well knew the object of the dog butcher, that "though they have never seen him before,

<sup>1</sup> See *Chron. in Pertz. Mon. German.* t. viii. p. 496, cited in *Freeman's Hist. of William Rufus*, vol. ii. p. 589.

<sup>2</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, pp. 20, 28, 35, 83.

<sup>3</sup> "1563. It was ordered that all dogs and cats were to be killed to prevent this spread of the infection."—*MS. in College of Physicians*, cited in *Eighth Report of Hist. Commission*, p. 227. The order was soon carried out, as the Churchwardens' accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster, show:—

1563. "Item to John Welch for the killing and carrying away of dogs during the plague, and for the putting of them into the ground and covering of the same, iij*s.* iij*d.*"

1592. "Item paid to the dog killer for killing dogs, the first time of infection, xv*s.*"—*Nichol's Illustrations of Manners and Expenses*.

yet they will all come forth and bark and fly at him," when in time of pestilence he was sent out to kill them.

The sanitary state of Cripplegate was no better than that of the rest of the City. The parish seems indeed to have been especially liable to attacks of pestilence. Malcolm tells us that "it was the fortune of Cripplegate to suffer in a dreadful manner from the plague, in the year 1608. One hundred and eighty were buried from January to June, seventy-nine in June, five hundred and eighty-nine in July, nine hundred and sixty-six in August, six hundred and seventy-nine in September, two hundred and eight in October, sixty-eight in November, and thirty-one in December."<sup>2</sup> In all two thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine.

The violence of this pestilence at this time will be best understood by a comparative statement from the church register of the burials in St. Giles in 1602 and in 1608.

In July 1602 the deaths were 23 in 1608. 594.

„ August „	„ „	86	„	1059.
„ Sept. „	„ „	85	„	676.
„ Oct. „	„ „	80	„	199. <sup>3</sup>

When this number of deaths happened at that time in one parish of London alone, we are not surprised to read that "never did the English nation behold so much black worn as there was at the funeral of Queen Elizabeth. It was but then put on to try if it would fit. For the

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, Cent. x. p. 255, edit. 1635.

<sup>2</sup> Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iii. p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> These numbers differ somewhat from those given by Malcolm. These now printed are however taken from the *Burial Register Books of St. Giles*.

great day of mourning was set down in the book of heaven to be held afterwards.”<sup>1</sup>

The Plague was never really absent from London. It ran its course and filled the churchyards until it seemed to have died out, because people had died in such numbers that hardly any victims for the plague existed. When however the natural increase of population had filled up the gap caused by the last outbreak, another visitation swept through the unwholesome streets. The houses were as unhealthy, the streets as full of provocatives to the plague as ever, and doctors as useless, as helpless as ever. In truth it was not a matter for doctors, but for draining below the surface and for keeping the streets clean. A poet of the day gives a prosaical account of the usual means resorted to for defence against pestilence:—

“——Vainly we presume,  
Upon our ivory boxes of perfume;  
To little purpose we defend our noses,  
With wormwood, rue, or with our Radcliffe posies  
Of tarred ropes. Small warrant for our lives  
Are all such bodily preservatives  
As cordiall waters, gums, herbs, plants and rootes,  
Our simple and compounded antidotes,  
Our bezoar stones, our medicines chymicall,  
Or that high-prized jewell where withal,  
For horne of unicorne men cheated are;  
Or those unhallowed charms which many wear.”

In another part of this poem the writer refers to

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth died March 24th, 1603. The pestilence however does not seem to have raged with violence until May in that year, when it became very destructive. We are told that “1603 was a plague year, no less than 30,578 falling under its terrible stroke in London.” Dr. Simpson’s *History and Antiquities of St. Matthew’s, Friday Street*, p. 39

the despair which fell on all when the plague made its appearance, and adds:—

“—This their terror doth to me appear,  
A greater plague than that which they doe feare.”<sup>1</sup>

George Withers, in the poem from which I cite these words, is speaking of the plague of 1625.

Forty years after London was again desolated by pestilence, when the great plague of 1665 fell with more than usual severity upon this parish. The open ditch, two hundred feet wide, and foul and noisome with the City sewage, on one side of the parish, and heaps of garbage and decaying vegetable matter in the City lay-stall in Moorfields, on the other side, shutting in the parish between two most active agents of pestilence, sufficiently account for this. When, then, the plague, from which the City, was never quite free,<sup>2</sup> burst forth with unwonted violence in the filthy narrow streets and foetid courts of the City, we feel no surprise that this parish was visited in the time of the great plague more severely than any other part of the City. In vain were fires lighted in the streets by order of the Lord Mayor and “brimstone, hops, pepper, and frankincense,” burnt in the houses;<sup>3</sup> the nights were soon too short for the burial of the dead, and the bells of the City churches never ceased to toll.<sup>4</sup> More than thirty

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Withers' *Brittain's Remembrancer*, Canto second.

<sup>2</sup> In 1647, 3597 persons are returned as having died of the plague in London; in 1648, 611 so died, and in every year after until the year of the great plague, we have returns of death from this cause. See Brayley's edition of De Foe's *Memoirs of the Plague*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> On the opinions of Hippocrates and the antient physicians as to the efficacy of fires and aromatic herbs in the time of plague, see the *de Peste* of Sir Thomas Browne in his *Works*, vol. iv. pp. 277-280. 8vo. edit Wilkins.

Pepys, in *Diary*, speaks of “the bell always going.”

years before the College of Physicians had attributed the great ravages of the plague in London to "the neglect of cleansing of common sewers and town ditches, and permitting standing pools in diverse places; uncleanness of streets; the laystalls so near the City, especially on the north side; the slaughter-houses in the City; burying of infected people in the churches and churchyards of the City;" yet with regard to none of these nurseries of the plague had any precaution been taken when the great plague of 1665 began to rage.<sup>1</sup> But without turning to any general account of this plague, the parish books of St. Giles gives us mournful indications of the extent of its ravages, as the extracts which follow will show.<sup>2</sup> It would seem that the parish was but ill provided with sufficient burial-grounds to hold the numbers of those who died during the previous visitation of the plague, for in the Vestry books, under June 4th, 1664, a few months before the outbreak of the great plague of 1665, is the following entry:—

"Agreed, that there shall be no more corpses buried in Whitecross-street churchyard, under the penalty of the payment of three pounds to the Vicar and the rest of the Vestrymen, to the use of the parish, by the Churchwarden or Churchwardens that shall give leave for any corpse to be there buried till ten years are expired."

Again, by an order of Vestry, 4th September, 1665, Thomas Luckeyn, who appears to have been in holy orders, and is described in the church register as "gent and curate," was confirmed in his appointment of parish

<sup>1</sup> For the weekly returns of burials of St. Giles, see Appendix B, at the end of this volume.

*Eighth Report of Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 299.



clerk, in room of Nicholas Vine or Pyne,<sup>1</sup> who had died of the plague; and in the next vestry, on the 28th, September, it is recited that Ferdinando Southern, the late sexton, was dead,<sup>2</sup> and Leonard Meacham is nominated to succeed him. In the same Vestry it is ordered—

“(I.) That the Churchwardens do forthwith raise the Lower churchyard,” that is, the churchyard around the parish church, “two foote higher with earth.

“(II.) That not any person be allowed to be buried under a pew in the church, unless the parties concerned doe at their own proper costs and charges lay down the same again.”

Among others who were carried off by the plague were two of the Churchwardens, about whom we have this entry in Smyth's Obituary:—"1665, Aug. 12, Mis [ter] Bliscard in Beach Lane, one of our Churchwardens of Cripplegate, buried *ex peste*." The parish register tells us that he was a coppersmith, and that he died of a fever. People were loath to acknowledge that the plague had entered their houses. Two days after, however, a second churchwarden was buried.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Smyth's *Obituary*, August 20 1665.

<sup>2</sup> 1665, July 5. "Ferdinando Southern, sexton of Cripplegate parish, died, having not lyen sick above a day or two, and so suspected to have died of the sickness but not returned.—Smyth's *Obituary*, p. 63. We learn from the same Obituary that, "1670, July 21, Meacham, sexton of St. Giles' Cripplegate, died this morning by a fall, on Thursday, July 14th, from a wall by the windmills in Moorfields into a ditch beneath, from whence he lying asleep, fell down, and was deadly bruised; Friday, 22nd, Mr. Welbank the lecturer preached at his burial."

<sup>3</sup> "1665. Buried Edward Jarvis, Breaker, Churchwarden in being," i.e. the churchwarden in office "(fever) 14 August."—*Burial Register of St. Giles*.

At the Vestry held on January 16th, 1666, this significant entry was made:—

“Whereas, in the last visitation of the plague, wherewith for the sins of this nation Almighty God hath been pleased to visit this City of London with the parishes adjacent and other parts of this realm, and in an especial manner this our parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, whereby such multitudes have died that our churchyards and burying-places are now almost filled with dead corpses that not any more can scarcely be buried there, to the intent therefore that we may have more ground——”

Certain members of the Vestry were appointed a committee to treat for the purchase of houses and grounds in Churchyard Alley adjoining the church, to enlarge the existing burial-ground. Again, in October, 1666, we read in the same book:—

“Ordered, that the Churchwardens doe report to the next Vestry how much ground in the alley by Crowder’s Well is now out of lease, and may forwith be added to the Lower Churchyard.”

The want of new ground was urgent, and a twelvemonth after this order of the vestry, the former rector of St. Giles, Dr. Dolben, then Bishop of Rochester, acting under a commission from the Bishop of London, consecrated, Oct. 9, 1667, a piece of ground south of the church containing in length 170 feet and in breadth 35 feet or thereunto, purchased and enclosed with a brick wall, and pallisadoes thereto at the cost and charges of the parishioners for an additional cemetery or churchyard.<sup>1</sup>

Still the burial places in the parish were inconveniently

<sup>1</sup> Newcourt’s *Repertorium Ecc. Lond.*

overcrowded with the bodies of the dead, and in January 28rd, 1667, it was ordered by the Vestry :—

“That no person shall be buried in the Upper Churchyard or burying-place by the Pest House for the space of seven years next ensuing.”<sup>1</sup>

And in the following year, by an order of Vestry of January 15th, 1668, this same regulation was extended to the Lower or old churchyard, that is, the one lying round the parish church.

And, to finish these sad mortuary memorials, in the Churchwardens' accounts for the year 1665-6 the following entries occur:—

“Paid Mr. Johnson and Mr. Alliston, for bringing into the Lower Churchyard 1,196 loades of earth, £60 1 6.

Paid to the labourers, for spreading it at several times, £4 17 0.

Paid Mr. Meareman, for himself and man at the time, £2 0 0.”

But we have other evidence of the violence with which the plague raged in this parish. It was the custom throughout England, in any time of great pestilence, for those who were stricken with disease to be compelled, or, at least, directed to keep to their houses in order that the plague might not be increased by infection. In London at this time watchmen were placed at the doors of infected houses to prevent the tenants coming out, and also to run on such errands as were needed by those within;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “The Pest House beyond Bunhill Fields on the way to Islington.” “On the spot now called Pest House Row, built about 1737, near the West-end of St. Luke's Hospital. It belonged to the City and included many tenements.”—Note. J. W. E. Brayley, in De Foe's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> To cite an instance of the precautions used to prevent fugitives from London entering any other town, however distant: among the

the number of persons however, who suffered in Cripplegate was so great, that this regulation could not be enforced. Tillison, writing to Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's says, "I am sure that the miserable condition of St. Giles Cripplegate is more to be pitied than any parish in or about London, where all have liberty, lest their sick and poor should be famished within doors; the parish not being able to relieve their necessities."<sup>1</sup> And writing in the August of the same year, he says, "It is reported that above eight hundred are already buried in Cripplegate parish this week."<sup>2</sup> The bills of mortality for another week, that from August 29th to September 5th, tell us that the numbers returned as buried from Cripplegate was 690. More than one-third of the inhabitants were swept away from this parish<sup>3</sup> and of those not stricken down by the plague, a large number fled from its pestilential streets. The weekly returns of deaths in Cripplegate Without, taken from

papers of the Corporation of Leicester, under date 7th July, 1665, is a memorandum of the appointment, with wages of eightpence a day each, of four persons to be watchmen in the neighbourhood of Leicester to prevent persons travelling out of London, when the plague is raging, from entering Leicester until the Mayor and Alderman of the borough have approved.—*Eighth Report of Commission on Hist. Manuscripts*, p. 439.

<sup>1</sup> Ellis' *Original Letters*. Series second, vol. iv. p. 31. Hence De Foe represents that a body of fugitives who reached Essex in their flight were inhabitants of this parish. *Memoirs of the Plague*, p. 172 (Family Lib. Edit.)

<sup>2</sup> Ellis' *Original Letters*. Series second, vol. iv. p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> "The Quakers had at that time also a burying ground set apart to their use which they still make use of, and they had a particular dead cart to fetch their dead from their houses."—De Foe, *Memoir of the Plague*, p. 318. (Fam. Lib. Edit.) This refers to an extension of the burial ground bought by the Society of Friends in 1661. "In Feb. 1665, after the plague had brought so many to the grave, Friends increased their territory in an easterly direction by buying two messages and gardens in Coleman Alley, now Coleman Street," (St. Luke's).—*London Friends' Meeting*, p. 332.

the Bills of mortality for this period, show its intensity. In the whole year the burials were 8,069, of which 4,888 are returned as having died from the plague. In the year 1666 these had diminished to 776, of which 47 only are returned as those who had died of the plague. At the end of the volume I have given the returns from the bills of mortality of the deaths in this parish, from March 21st, 1665, to May 15, 1666, when the plague had almost died out—had died out, that is, as utterly as it ever did die out in those days.<sup>1</sup> The number of deaths from all causes may be relied on as fairly accurate. The number of those who died of the plague was, however, far greater than that stated in these bills. Householders shrank from entering the deaths of members of their friends as from plague, lest this should lead to their houses being shut up and watched to prevent anyone going in or out.

Speaking of this desolation of London, a poet of that period says:—

“Before us and behind,  
And likewise on each side,  
We empty dwellings find  
Where thousand liv’d and dy’d.  
In every street,  
Both night and day, in sad array,  
The mourners meet.  
He that did rise  
At morning well, ere noon his knell  
Tells us he dies.”<sup>2</sup>

Among those who died of the plague at this time and were buried at one or other of the churchyards of this parish, occur

<sup>1</sup> On June 2nd occur the first entries in the Burial Register of St. Giles, of death from plague in Old Street and Goswell Street. Its first ravages were in the denser peopled parts near the Gate.

<sup>2</sup> Geo. Withers' Poems at the end of his "*Meditations on the Lord's Prayer*," published in 1665, the year of the great plague.

the names of Samuel Austin, John Askew, Samuel Skelton, Abraham Jennaway, Henry Morley, and John Wall, each described as "Minister," and also Mary, the wife of Benjamin Needler, and John, the son of John Grimes, both described in the same manner, "Minister." They were probably Curates or Clergymen who volunteered for clerical duty at this time of distress and necessity, and ministered in the parish and died at their post. The entries of burials in the month of July, 1665, fill 71 pages of the register book, those in the month of August fill 101 pages, and the entries in September take up 54 pages.

The mental strain and terror which people were under in this dreadful time were evinced in the numbers who are recorded to have lost their reason during this visitation of the plague. In parish account-books side by side are notices of sums paid for the removal of the plague-stricken to the Pest House, and of moneys given for the conveyance of the insane to Bedlam.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

In connection with these accounts of the plague, it may be noted that, almost as late as the close of the seventeenth century, the poor who were unable to purchase a coffin for the bodies of their friends were compelled to bury them without one. The following order of the Vestry, dated 6th August, 1672, records a state of things which will surprise many persons:—

"Ordered, that whensoever any person or persons begg the burial-ground of the Churchwardens, if the said person

<sup>1</sup> See in *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Alphage*, printed by Mr. T. J. Elwin.

or persons will bury in a coffin, he or they shall pay the full dues of burial, according to the table of fees or church dutys; but if they shall bury in a sheet only the dues shall be remitted, at the discretion of the Churchwardens."

And two years later, on 3rd November, 1674, this direction not having been observed, it was renewed, and in order that it might be the better enforced, the right of giving the ground to the poor was limited to the senior Churchwarden.

This economical, and as it seems to us somewhat barbarous order, was, however, modified about twenty years later by the following resolution of the Vestry—

"June 5, 1691. Ordered, that all such persons who shall hereafter be buried in the Pest House ground, for whom the fees shall be begged off and remitted, shall and may be buried in coffins, any order of Vestry or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."





## CHAPTER THE NINTH.

### *Trade History. The Ward.*

**A**ND now, before I close this roll of parochial history, let me descend for a moment to more modern times. I will treat of these but briefly. The historian who deals with the present treads sometimes on ashes hardly yet extinct, and may too often rekindle, however innocently, the fires of old controversies. I shall avoid this. I leave to chroniclers of a future generation the task of relating the history of the times in which we live, its shortcomings and its far reachings, its hopes and its fears. Neither have I made any reference to the endowed charities of this parish, because a bare list would afford no information, and to speak fully of them would greatly increase the size of this volume.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is less need of my devoting any space to these charities since, whilst this sheet is passing through the press, a volume has been issued by Mr. Robert Pearce (Woodley, Fore Street) which gives all the information requisite. I will however supplement the labours of Mr. Pearce by an account of a cancelled bequest, which may be new to most of my readers. "1762, February. Died lately, in the parish of St. Leonard, two old men, brothers, who a little before lodged in the Parish



I cannot however bring these chapters of the history of St. Giles Without Cripplegate to a close, without some reference to the civil state of the parish and to the efforts made to promote the education of the young,

But first one or two notes as to the trade of the parish. Ale and beer brewers seem to have settled here early. Many, probably most of the owners of "tippling houses," the beer shops and small public-houses of the middle ages, brewed the beer they supplied to their customers. The larger brewers lived outside the City by the banks of the Thames, the Fleet, the Old-bourne, the Lang-bourne, the Wall-brook, or near some of the streams which flowed through this moor. Brewers required so much water that they were at one time rated higher than others, then forbidden to draw any water from the conduits in the City.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty of getting a sufficient supply within the walls and the superior cheapness of firewood outside the gates led to their settling in this parish. Ale and beer were of greater importance in the middle ages than now. Apart from wine, which was too dear for ordinary use, ale and beer were the only drink of the people. Tea was unknown till long after the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup> had closed, nor had Coffee been heard of; so that the brewing trade was one of the most important in the kingdom, and many were the breweries which stood upon the Moor and were

of Cripplegate, but lived there in so miserable a manner as to be discharged their lodgings. On their death it appeared that the interest of £4000 which they had before left to Cripplegate parish, was now left to the poor of St. Leonards, for ever. A caveat was entered by a third brother against the will, but we hear it is finally determined in favour of the poor."—*Annual Register*.

<sup>1</sup> Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 77, 107, 148, 200, 225, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Sept. 25, 1660. I did send for a cup of tee, a Chinese drink, of which I never had drank before."—*Pepys' Diary*.

fed by the streams and pools there.<sup>1</sup> Several of these breweries have only disappeared from this parish in comparatively recent times. This trade is now represented by the brewery of Messrs. More in Old Street, and by the great brewing firm of Whitbread and Company in Chiswell Street; part of the premises of Messrs. Whitbread stands in St. Giles' parish; the larger portion, however, is in St. Luke's.

The present firm of Whitbread and Co. was founded by Mr. Samuel Whitbread, of Southill, Bedfordshire, who in the year 1750 removed the business he had carried on from 1742 at the Brewhouse, Old Street, St. Luke's, now occupied by Messrs. More and Co., to the existing premises in Chiswell Street, which appear to have been used for the same purpose previously. The business established by Mr. Whitbread was developed by him with remarkable enterprise and vigour: in the year 1760, 68,408 barrels of beer were brewed; in 1785 he introduced the use of steam power, having an engine erected by Bolton and Watt—one of the first constructed by them for a brewery—which still remains in use. John Rennie, the celebrated engineer, was employed in superintending the adaptation of the machinery connected with this engine. To Mr. Whitbread are also due the underground cisterns, six in number, the largest of

<sup>1</sup> It may thus have been trade purposes which brought about the marriage of Oliver Cromwell, brewer, with Elizabeth Bouchier, of this parish.—In the register books of St. Giles and elsewhere, are frequent notices of brewers' children christened and buried here, *e.g.*—

“1649, Sept. 21. William, son of William Dashwood, brewer, and Susan his wife, born.”

“1653, March 27. Mr. John de Gret, brewer, in Red Cross Street, died sodenly in his bed at night, having been at chur. yt. day.”—Smyth's *Obituary*.

“1673, Oct. 12. Mr. Lawrence, brewer in Red Cross Street, died, buried Oct. 14. *ib.*

which contained upwards of 8,600 barrels of beer. These were designed by Smeaton. These subterranean chambers excited the admiration of their Majesties George the Third and Queen Charlotte when they visited the Brewhouse in May 1787, and in their honour they were thereafter named "King" and "Queen." Mr. Whitbread, "the founder," died in 1796; he was succeeded by his son Samuel, and from 1799 the business was conducted under the style of "Whitbread and Co." In 1815 the number of barrels brewed was returned as 261,018. In 1834 ale-brewing was commenced here, porter and stout only having previously been brewed.

There seems to have been a disproportionate number of bakers living outside the gate and in this parish in olden times. This is easily accounted for. The City regulations were minute and—necessarily—oppressive. Trade was conducted so dishonestly in the good old times, that every trader was overlooked and treated as if he were dishonest. The baker who made white bread might not sell brown bread; if he made bread, he might not make confectionery. He might make loaves at a farthing a piece or for a half-penny, but not for three farthings, because this sum is not divisible. If he lived in the City, he was compelled to buy his corn at one spot only, nor might he buy until six o'clock had struck in the morning, and not after three in the afternoon.<sup>1</sup> These and similar minute and vexatious regulations to make men upright were enforced by the municipal authorities. Hence the advantage to some traders, even though honest, of settling beyond the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor's sergeants and out of the way of the ward beables.

<sup>1</sup> Riley's *Memorials*, pp. 181, 323, 423, etc.

We learn from a petition presented to the House of Commons in 1605, in which the "grievances of John Brode" of this parish, Goldsmith, are detailed, that a foundry for the making of "latten metals" existed at that date in Cripplegate, and that Brode was, according to his own not very lucid statement, "the first man that here in England commixed copper and callamyn, and brought it to perfection, viz., to abide the hammer and beaten into plates and raised into kettles and pans by hammers driven by water."<sup>1</sup>

I have referred to this parish as having been the residence in olden times of antiquaries, poets, and other literary men. Cripplegate has, however, another claim to literary distinction. The parish is the home of modern English type-founding. Caxton seems to have imported from Holland some, at least, of the type used by him in printing;<sup>2</sup> his immediate successors, such as Wynken de Worde and Pynson, probably superintended the founding of their own types. Pynson indeed is thought to have supplied other printers with type: of this, however, we have little certain knowledge. The earliest founts of type in England of which we have direct information were for Anglo-Saxon and Arabic letters. John Daye in 1567 cast the type for the works published by Archbishop Parker in Anglo-Saxon. After this date type-founding languished for almost a couple of centuries. English type had a poor reputation, and the best continued to be imported from Holland. In 1687, during the days of the Stuart monopolies, type-foundries in England were by a decree of the Star Chamber limited to four, each of which was at liberty to

<sup>1</sup> *Fourth Report of Commission on Hist. MSS.* p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> On early printing and type-founding in England. See *Life of Caxton*, by Mr. William Blades, p. 104. (Second Edition, 1882.)

have two apprentices and no more. In 1740 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge required a fount of Arabic type for printing the Psalms and New Testament in that language, and application was made to an ingenious artisan, William Caslon, to make the punches for this letter. This seems to have led him to turn his attention more closely to type-founding as a distinct trade, and he established his foundry in Chiswell Street.<sup>1</sup> The first punches used by him were cut with his own hands. This foundry became the parent house of type-founding in England, and the excellence of Caslon's workmanship soon drove Dutch types from the English market. William Caslon died in 1766, the father of a dynasty of founders.<sup>2</sup>

There was another industry which gave employment to many persons in this parish at an early date. The gates of this parish commanded the great northern road, and waggens and carts with their loads of goods came to and went from the Old White Horse yard by the Cripplegate once a fortnight, then once a week, and at length twice or three times a week, between London and the great clothing towns of the north, which after the Restoration had started into fresh activity. Just as the war between Charles the First and the leaders of the Commonwealth party was beginning, Castlon, or Caslon,<sup>3</sup> one of

<sup>1</sup> Type Street received its name from a letter foundry established there in 1764.

<sup>2</sup> "William Caslon, founder of the existing Caslon letter-foundry in Chiswell Street, was born in 1692, and died in 1766. William Caslon II. born 1720, died 1778. Elizabeth Caslon, who carried on the foundry with great vigour and ability from 1778 until her death in 1809. Henry Wm. Caslon, born 1813, died 1874."—*Caslon's Quarterly Circular*, July 1877.

<sup>3</sup> Query, whether an ancestor to the typefounder mentioned in a former paragraph?

the two postmasters who had the exclusive right to supply travellers with posthorses and to forward letters between the metropolis and the provinces, lived and had his office in the Barbican.<sup>1</sup> A year or two before this, in 1687, Taylor the water-poet gives the names of two inns in St. Giles, where carriers for the country lodge. That of the White Horse near the gate, where the Lincoln carrier "cometh every second Friday," and that of the White Hart, where "the carriers of Huntingdon doe lodge. They come up," he adds, "upon the Thursdaies and goe away on Friday."<sup>2</sup> In 1732, however, the White Hart had disappeared from the carriers' list, but from the White Horse carriers left every Monday for Richmond, Durham, Darlington, Newcastle, Hexham and Alnwick, on Thursday for the Yorkshire Bradford, and on Friday for Halifax, Otley, Leeds, Pomfret, Tadcaster, and Wakefield.<sup>3</sup> In 1740, the number of towns in the north of England which employed waggons starting from this inn had nearly doubled. The roads were now safe at least for heavy goods, and with security trade had increased, and the communication between London and the provincial towns of England had become more frequent.

The large establishment of Messrs. Morrison and Co.,<sup>4</sup> Manchester warehousemen, has in recent years become the property of the Fore Street Warehouse Company, Limited, and the space of ground formerly occupied by the White-cross Prison for Debtors has been covered with a ware-

<sup>1</sup> *Fifth Report of Commission on Hist. MSS.* p.p. 60, 62, 66.

<sup>2</sup> *The Carrier's Cosmography.*

<sup>3</sup> *Parish Clerk's Survey, 1732.*

<sup>4</sup> For notices of the late Mr. Morrison, see *Life and Correspondence of Dr. Southey*, edited by Rev. C. Southey, and *Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, by J. W. Warton, B.D. (Vol. iii. pp. 402, 406; vol. iv. p. 196.)

house for goods belonging to the Midland Railway Company. Gradually the Parish of St. Giles is becoming again uninhabited, and the ground is fast lapsing into the site of offices and storehouses.

\* \* \* \* \*

In area the parish of St. Giles covers forty-three acres of ground.<sup>1</sup> In the outset of this volume I have spoken of the time when hardly a house had been built outside the gate which gives name to the parish. The growth of the population was for a long time slow; it reached its utmost extent between 1850 and 1860, and has since considerably diminished.

Little dependence can be placed on ancient estimates of numbers, and partisan estimates are usually reckless; thus the Apprentices, in their petition to the House of Lords against Dr. Fuller in 1642, assured that assembly that the inhabitants of Cripple-gate Without numbered "forty thousand souls or thereabouts,"<sup>2</sup> when certainly they did not reach half that number. Stow tells us, however, that in his time, in 1598, "the parish of St. Giles hath more than eighteen hundred householders," that is, in its two divisions, the Freedom and Lordship districts. In 1631 a return was directed to be made to the Privy Council, by the Lord Mayor, of the population of the various parishes of the City. In that document it is stated that 6,445 persons were then living in St. Giles', Cripple-gate, that is, in the Freedom part of the parish.<sup>3</sup> In the *Parish Clerk's Survey* of

<sup>1</sup> *Population Returns*, 1841.

<sup>2</sup> *Petition and Articles exhibited in Parliament against Dr. Fuller, - Dean of Ely and Vicar of Giles, Cripple-gate.* 1641. *King's Pamphlets.* Brit. Museum.

<sup>3</sup> *Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality.* By Captain John Graunt, F.R.S. (Fifth edition, 1676.)

1732, we have a somewhat precise statement of the number of houses in the present parish of St. Giles. It was then 1,800, and we are told in the same volume that in the Lordship, the parish of St. Luke's, it was 3,010. The former number favours the estimate that the population of St. Giles, Cripplegate, about the middle of the last century, exclusive of the Lordship part, was about eight or nine thousand. From that date until the beginning of the present century, we have only conjectures as to the increase of the population, and such evidences as are afforded by the Register books of the church. The census returns from 1800 are as follows:—

1801	...	...	11,446
1811	...	...	11,704
1821	...	...	13,038
1831	...	...	13,134
1841	...	...	13,255
1851	...	...	14,361
1861	...	...	13,498
1871	...	...	8,894 <sup>1</sup>
1881	...	...	3,863

In the years undermentioned, an enumeration of the houses in the parish was made; from this we find that—

	Houses inhabited.		Uninhabited.		Building.	
1841	...	1,558	...	100	...	1
1851	...	1,566	...	75	...	6
1861	...	1,473	...	86	...	8
1871	...	1,027	...	205	...	3
1881	...	463	...	357	...	17

On March 17, 1881, an enumeration was made by the City authorities of the number of the inhabitants of the

<sup>1</sup> Between 1861 and 1871 the Metropolitan Railway was extended to Little Moorfields, and a large number of families were removed from the parish.



City parishes, together with that of persons employed during the day, though living at a distance. In this census it is stated that 15,962 were living or working in Cripplegate at that date.<sup>1</sup>

The parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate is not only a parish, it is one of the wards into which London is divided. In 1847, two years before the ravages of the Black death, we have a list of the names of the Common Councilmen who represented the inhabitants of the City in the Municipal Parliament.<sup>2</sup> There was at that date no sign of Cripplegate Without, and the Ward of Cripplegate—or, as we now call it, Cripplegate Within—had six representatives, the largest number returned by any ward. The whole number of Common Councilmen in London was in that year 188; of these 78 represented the wards east of Walbrook; 60 the wards to the west of that stream.<sup>3</sup> In 1884, the members in the Common Council are said to have been diminished to 96; and as the great pestilences of the latter half of the fourteenth century had swept away large numbers of the inhabitants of the City since the return of 1847, it would seem that in settling the number of representatives some regard was paid to the population in each ward. Most of the wards at the earliest date returned six members to the Court of Common Council—three wards returned five members each—two returned four members; whilst one, that of Lyme Street, was represented

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Day Census of the City of London*, 17th March, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> "Crepelgate, 6 Richard Goldbetere. John de Hyngestone. Simon de Worstede. William Payn. Adam Walpol. William le Chaloner." Of these Simon de Worstede was a draper. His name afterwards occurs as the Alderman of the Ward. William le Chaloner was, as his name implies, a blanket-maker or seller of blankets.

<sup>3</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, pages viii.—ix.

by two members only. In the thirty-seventh year of Henry VI. (A.D. 1459) the members appeared to have numbered 187, and this number remained unaltered in the third year of Edward VI. (A.D. 1549). In the reign of Charles II. the maximum number of the members of this Court was fixed at 250. Beyond that number it is held that the City has no power to increase the Common Councilmen in this Court.<sup>1</sup> In 1666, we find that there were 222 members in the Common Council, and these were increased from time to time to 236, at which number they stood fifty years ago. The last increase before that date was in 1736, when two members were added to the representatives of the ward of Farringdon Within.<sup>2</sup>

The Common Councilmen returned by the wardmote took care of the estimates and general interests of the ward in the City parliament; the wardmote itself elected the inquest jury, which had charge of the police and internal management of the ward. It consisted originally of all householders as well as of all hired servants living in the ward.<sup>3</sup> The inquest was convened at the mote hall, and met at nine o'clock in the morning, whenever business required the presence of its members. All who were absent at that hour were fined one shilling. If any came to the quest or mote without his frock or livery gown, he was ordered to pay two shillings and sixpence. For unseemly language the members were fined, and every oath involved a mulct of one shilling for the poor. As in a more important body, the external jurisdiction—that of the

<sup>1</sup> *Opinion of the Recorder and the Common Sergeant*; in Guildhall Lib., MSS. No. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Town Clerk and Solicitor*, Guildhall Lib., MSS. No. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. i.

Common Council—is still in existence, the more useful court, that of the wardmote, has long ceased, and little more than its name remains.

In the 18th and again in the 20th years of the reign of Edward I., we have notices of the ward of Cripplegate. In 1811, the 4th year of Edward II., Cripplegate Within is spoken of as though there had already grown up a population outside the gate. It was in the following year that the hitherto undivided ward was required to double the number of the nightly watch at the gate, which makes it probable that Cripplegate was at that time first divided into an inner and an outer ward.<sup>1</sup> In the 18th of the same reign the name of Cripplegate Without is said to have been mentioned for the first time.<sup>2</sup> The two wards were then described, one as Cripplegate, and the other as Cripplegate Extra, and after that time as Cripplegate Within and Cripplegate Without. At the first time we meet with any account of the representatives of the latter ward they consisted of a Deputy and two Common Councilmen.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards these representatives had been increased to four. In the early years of the present century, however, the ward and parish of Cripplegate Without had a grievance to complain of: it had still only half the number of representatives of the less populous ward of Cripplegate Within, and accordingly an agitation commenced for obtaining an increase in the number of its representatives. In 1826 a regular struggle for ward rights was going on; funds were raised, meetings were held, much oratory was indulged in, which might have been dangerous were

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 77, and note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of Town Clerk and Solicitor*, Guildhall Lib., MSS. No. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Stow's Survey*.

it not that frequent dinners were eaten: and a dinner is a great healer of strife; so that the fervid appeals made to the people of Cripplegate Without to demand their undoubted right to have an equal number of Common Councilmen to that possessed by the Inner Ward lost somewhat of their edge, as the agitators lost somewhat of their appetite. Before these dinners the inhabitants were stirred up to revolt against the exclusiveness of the Council Chamber at Guildhall, in language which sounded then loud as the roar of the ocean, but which seems to us now, as forgotten controversies are apt to do, very like the effervescence of soda water in a tumbler. In the Guildhall Library is a volume of the broad sheets, handbills, squibs in poetry and squibs in prose, some in print, some in manuscript, all devoted to obtaining an amendment of the representation of the people by increasing the number of Common Councilmen to be returned from Grub Street and other precincts of this parish.<sup>1</sup> The agitation was at length crowned with success, and in the year 1827 Cripplegate Without obtained its "inalienable and imprescriptible rights" and subsided into peace. *Requiescat in pace.* Four more of its inhabitants were henceforth privileged to wear a blue gown trimmed with fur, and the ward Without was at length able to vote in the Court of Common Council, on equal terms with the more ancient ward of Cripplegate Within.<sup>2</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> Guildhall Lib., MSS. No. 73.

<sup>2</sup> In the last century the term "Cripplegate Without" was sometimes applied to St. Luke's, or the Lordship part of the parish, and "Cripplegate Within" to the freedom part. In a map of this date the terms are thus used. See the collection on Cripplegate made by Miss Anna S— in the library of the British Museum.

About the end of the seventeenth century great exertions were made by voluntary societies in London and elsewhere throughout England for checking profanity, for the promotion of Education and of the knowledge of Christianity among the people of this country, and for more active and systematic exertions in the cause of Christian missions abroad. Not that we are to suppose that schools did not exist in St. Giles before that time, but only that they were too few for the needs of the population. There is an incidental reference to a girls' school, it would seem to have been a parish school, established in Angel Alley, Grub Street, before the first endowed school was established, which is of interest. In the obituary of Secondary Smyth, so often made use of in these chapters, is an entry under Aug. 22, 1665: "Mr. Winchfield, ye school Mis[tress'] husband in Angel Alley, died." And twenty years before this date a school existed in Little Moorfields, the residence of families of wealth, in which French was one of the accomplishments taught.<sup>1</sup>

The new religious efforts made towards the close of the seventeenth century led to the establishment of distinct societies for the several purposes already mentioned. Among these the cause of the education of the young was taken up with much earnestness. In 1690 we read of a school for poor children, which was begun in Shovel Alley in Wood Street. This was not at the first intended specifically for the parish of St. Giles, and throughout 1692 it was maintained chiefly by means of alms collected after a monthly sermon preached at Christ Church in Newgate

<sup>1</sup> "Benia[*min*]: sonne of Robert Herbert from the French Scoole in Little Morefields. Chris. 6th Feb. 1648-49."—*Baptismal Register of St. Giles*'.

Street. In Dec. 1692, however, the school was removed to this parish and a sermon was preached on its behalf by Bishop Fowler of Gloucester, the very popular vicar of St. Giles'. In 1698 the school was opened "near the White Hart, in White Street," for one hundred boys. This was afterwards removed at the first to Glovers' Hall in Beech Street; in 1709, however, it was again removed and was established in Red Cross Street, the contributions of the parishioners and others having proved large enough to enable the trustees to buy a site and to build school premises for a hundred and fifty boys.<sup>1</sup> Here it remained till recently. It is now settled, at least for a time, in Bridgewater Square. At the present moment there are 270 scholars on the books of the school, and the average attendance of boys during the last year was slightly over 231.

The year before the boys' school had been removed to Red Cross Street, died Dame Eleanor Holles, daughter of the second Earl of Clare. She left the residue of her property, after the bequest of certain specified legacies, to pious uses at the discretion of her executrix, Mrs. Ann Watson, daughter of Lord Rockingham, who devoted the moneys accruing from the same to the purchase of ground rents and applied the proceeds to the maintenance of a school for girls in this parish. Mrs. Watson also left a legacy of five hundred pounds to the same school. At first the benefits of this endowment were limited to fifty children, but, other bequests having increased the original capital, it now suffices for the maintenance of a girls' school for one hundred children, twelve of whom are

<sup>1</sup> Guildhall MSS.

boarded and trained for domestic service, and also for an infants' school for the same number of scholars. Until 1885 this school was held in part of the premises belonging to the trustees of the boys' school, but in that year it was removed to premises in the same street, but nearer to the parish church. In 1875 it was found that the £62 per annum, of which the ground rents purchased in 1709 out of the bequest of Lady Holles had consisted, had increased in value to £1,500 per annum, and in accordance with a scheme of the Charity Commissioners these charity funds are now applied to the maintenance of the one hundred girls in the Red Cross Street Schools, and to the same number of infants in schools in White Cross Street, each of such children making a small weekly payment. The residue of the funds is devoted to a middle-class school in Mare Street, Hackney, where Latin, French, German, Music, and other accomplishments are taught to 250 scholars, upon payment of sums varying from five pounds per annum to six pounds, according to the age of the pupils.<sup>1</sup> The cost of building this school for middle-class scholars was defrayed out of the surplus funds belonging to the Lady Holles' School, as the various schools maintained out of the proceeds of her legacy are still called.

Attached to St. Bartholomew's Church in Moor Lane are schools which afford an education to about one hundred and twenty children. As the numbers of the families living in these two parishes of St. Giles and of St. Bartholomew, of which the original parish of St.

<sup>1</sup> The course of instruction includes English Mathematics, Natural Science, Domestic Economy, Needlework, Drawing, Singing, Theory of Music, Drilling, French, German, and Latin.

Giles Without Cripplegate now consists, have been largely reduced by the demolition of houses for the metropolitan and other railways and by the conversion of the sites, formerly occupied by the dwellings of the poor, into warehouses, the parish of St. Giles is amply supplied with school buildings and with the pecuniary means of educating every child within its boundaries.

Several small schools, public and private, indeed, have disappeared from the parish within the last four or five years. The children have gone elsewhere, and the schools have been pulled down. The City of London National Society's Schools in White Street have been recently closed, and several years before that an old school in Ropemaker Street, belonging as the inscription over it stated, to "the Protestant dissenters," was closed, and the house in which it was held was pulled down.

In 1862 an Act of Parliament was obtained for the extension of the Metropolitan Railway from Farringdon Street to Little Moorfields. This portion of the railway was made through what was then a densely peopled part of the parish of St. Giles, and almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's and about the same proportion of the people of the remaining part of the parish were swept away. Most of the families thus ejected were driven into the already overcrowded adjoining parishes of St. Luke's and of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch.<sup>1</sup>

Since 1851, the first census after the formation of the new parish, St. Bartholomew's, has shared in the decline of the population of the mother parish of St. Giles.

<sup>1</sup> *Observations on the Displacement of the Poor by Metropolitan Railway, etc.*, by Rev. W. Denton, 1861.



The statement of population already given includes the ecclesiastical parish of St. Bartholomew, Moor Lane, which in 1851 contained 4,518 souls, and in 1881 only 1,890.

In that year the houses in the new parish were :—

		Inhabited.		Un-inhabited.		Building.
1851	...	504	..	21	...	0
1881	...	168	...	78 <sup>1</sup>	...	2

<sup>1</sup> In the returns of uninhabited houses here and in the census of St. Giles' are included offices and warehouses not occupied as dwelling houses.





## CHAPTER THE TENTH.

### *Beating the Bounds.*

#### § 1. *Barbican to White Cross Street.*

**A**ND now, though Cripplegate has a gate no longer, and though the Greater and Lesser, the Upper and Middle Moorfields are neither brown moor nor green fields, and the most careful and persevering of maidens could not gather from the hedge rows in the parish, a single specimen of the Rogation flower to twine in a garland for the procession round its boundaries,<sup>1</sup> yet, since an author has special privileges, I invite the reader, who has thus far followed me in the course of my history, to a holiday ramble round our parish of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, of which in the previous chapters I have

<sup>1</sup> "Milk-wort is called *Ambarvalis flos*; so called because it doth specially flourish in the Cross or Gang-week or Rogation week; of which flowers the maidens which used in this country to walk in procession do make themselves garlands and nosegays. In England we may call it Cross flower, Gang flower, Rogation flower, and Milk-wort, on account of their virtues in preserving milk in the breasts of nurses."—Gerarde's *Herbal*. See also Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 203. (Bohn.)

been too long discoursing. Our journey, I promise him, shall be as short as the size and importance of the parish permits.

The Guide Book to the City, compiled by the Company of Parish Clerks in the early part of the last century, gives this precise statement as to the parish boundaries: "This parish, beginning in Jewin Street, extends to the house now or late Mr. Thomas Tuthil's on the south side, and to the house now or late Mr. William Whitton's on the north side of that end next to Red Cross Street, and takes in all Red Cross Street. In Barbican, it extends to the house now or late Mr. Merriday's on the south side, and to Mr. Manwarring's on the north side. Also Princes Street, Bridgewater Square, Bridgewater Gardens, Golden Lane, Whitecross Street, Fore Street, both sides of the way to the Turnstile, and from thence northward on the west side of Little Moorfields to Rope-makers' Alley."<sup>1</sup>

The Barbican,<sup>2</sup> the name of the street from Aldersgate Street eastward to Red Cross Street, was so called, Stow tells us, "because sometime there stood on the north side of Red Cross Street a burgh-kenin or watch tower of the City, called in some language a barbican, as a bikenning is called a beacon;"<sup>3</sup> this burghkenning, by the name of The Manor of Base Court, was given by Edward III<sup>4</sup> to Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and was lately apper-

<sup>1</sup> Parish Clerks' *New Remarks of London*, 1732.

<sup>2</sup> Anglo-Saxon, Burh, a fortified place, walled town or city; and Beacen, a beacon; a city watch tower (old Saxon, boken, Old Fris. baken.)—Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dict.*

<sup>3</sup> Thus "Omnes munitiones, barbican et claustrum."—*Cronica Majorum et Vicecomitum*. (Camd. Soc.)

taining to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby of Ersby," who resided in the Barbican.<sup>1</sup> The name applied to the ditch, and then to the street before the Barbican in olden times, was Houndsditch, a name common to a large length of the City ditch, though now confined to the street covering the ditch from Bishopsgate to Aldgate.

In the days when Aldersgate Street was the favourite residence of courtiers and peers, and when wealthy commoners had their mansions there,<sup>2</sup> and it was the centre of political intrigue, the neighbouring parish of St. Giles had noblemen, baronets, heralds, and antiquaries, authors of repute and fashionable squires and dames among its residents. When the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Hobart, lived in the parish of St. Bartholomew's by Smithfield, it is no wonder that we should find the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chancellor of the after time, Sir Thomas Egerton, keeping house in the Barbican. And when his son became Earl of Bridgewater, and possessed Garter House, the old residence of Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms, in the reign of Henry VIII., it was natural that Garter House should become known as Bridgewater House. But though Garter House changed its name for a somewhat loftier title, the memory of its existence

<sup>1</sup> 1585. March 7, Christened, Peregrine Bartye son of Peregrine Bartye Lord Willobie.

1586. May 30, Christened, Katherine, the daughter of ditto.

1587. Dec. 6, Christened, Ambrose, the son of ditto.

1590. March 10, Christened, Henry, the son of ditto.—*Church Register, St. Giles'.*

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* The countess of Thomond lived in this street in 1641; Lord Thanet in 1650; Sir Edward Harrington and Lord Petre at the same time; the French Ambassador rented Lord Mandeville's house here in 1623, and the house built, it is said, by Inigo Jones and occupied by Lord Shaftesbury after the Restoration is, at the moment I write, being pulled down.

was long preserved to us in Garter Court in the Barbican, as its new name survives in Bridgewater Square, the forecourt of the mansion.<sup>1</sup> This was a stately house, embossomed in trees and surrounded by gardens, remarkable, as Evelyn notes, for their fertility. On the top of this mansion was a private chapel built by Sir Thomas Wriothesley for the use of his household, and dedicated under the name of S. Trinitas in Alto. In the register books of St. Giles' are several enteries of marriages solemnized in this chapel.<sup>2</sup> The Egertons resided in this place for more than half a century, until the destruction of their house by fire in April 1687, when Charles and Thomas Egerton, sons of John Earl of Bridgewater, and one of their serving men, were burnt to death.<sup>3</sup>

Writing about the year 1660, Strype calls Bridgewater Square "a very handsome open place with very good buildings." The mansion was then standing. Hatton, writing nearly fifty years later, in 1708, when the house had been destroyed, says that the square was "a very pleasant, though very small square."

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, whose third wife was Mary Tudor, Dowager Queen of France and sister of

<sup>1</sup> The houses in Garter Court have been pulled down within little more than a twelve month. The entrance to the court however still exists [1882] in Barbican.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* 1664. "Nov. 17th, Marriage of Viscount Brackley, eldest son of the Earl of Bridgewater, to the Lady Elizabeth Cranfield, by His Grace Gilbert, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in ye Chapel at Bridgewater House in ye Barbican."—*Church Register, St. Giles.*

<sup>3</sup> "In April this year, the 11th day, in the eveninge about ten or eleven o'clock, two of the Earl of Bridgewater's sons were burnt to death and one servant, in the Earl's house in Barbican, in the young gentleman's chamber."—*Autobiography of Sir John Bramston.* (Camd. Soc.) p. 278.

Henry the Eighth, had by right of his first wife, Katherine, daughter of William Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, a house in the Barbican, and from this place the duchess withdrew to France when the persecution of Mary made it unsafe for her to remain in England.<sup>1</sup>

Behind the fringe of houses which stood along the line of the chief streets in the parish, such as the Barbican, the Red Cross Street, and others, were pleasant "garden houses," the country retreats of men employed in the thronged and narrow streets of London and Westminster. Here, among authors and actors who neighboured there, the names of two of Shakespere's companions meet the eye on turning over the pages of the Baptismal and Burial Registers of St. Giles'. In 1606 John son of William Sley, or Sly as it is afterwards spelt, Player, was born in September, and died the next month. Sly acted with Shakespere several of the characters in the plays of the great dramatist. Again, in the Baptismal Register is an entry under February 10, 1587, of "Commedia, daughter of William Johnson, one of the Queen's players," whose name will be found the fourteenth in a list which includes James and Richard Burbage, Thomas Greene, George Peele, and William Shakespere. Poor Commedia's life was but a short one; her burial is inserted in the Register March 8, 1598. Edward Alleyne also, who after he had acquired wealth by acting, bestowed it with a liberal hand, lived for awhile

<sup>1</sup> Sir Harris Nicolas' *Historic Peerage*. Holinshed's *Chronicle*. *Five Generations of a Loyal House*, by Lady Georgiana Bertie, p. 21 et seq. In his will, dated Aug. 7, 1599, Lord Willoughby D'Eresby devised to his son Peregrine, after the decease of Susan Countess of Kent, all his lands and tenements in Barbican and Goulding Lane called Willoughby's rents.—*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of Queen Elizabeth*.

in this parish, and a little later we have in the Register books a notice of Sir William Davenant, who also resided here.<sup>1</sup> Another poet, whose hymns are the most popular, and deservedly the most popular, in the English language, was connected with this parish.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Ken's brothers were born here, and in the churchyard his mother lies buried, whilst three entries in the Baptismal and Burial Registers of St. Giles' records the story of her last illness and death.—

“16<sup>40</sup> Martin, son of Thos. Ken, Gent., baptised March 16th.  
 „ Martha, wife of Thos. Ken, Gent., buried 19th March.  
 „ Martin, son of Thos. Ken, Gentleman, buried 26th March.”

The moor stretching from Beech Lane to Hoxton, beyond the ground used by the archers, was gay with “gardens wherein was built many fair summer houses; and as in other places of the suburbs, some of them like midsummer pageants, with towers, turrets and chimney pots, not so much for use of profit as for show and pleasure.”<sup>3</sup> For pleasure, perchance, but not altogether profitless. In the parish books is entered the burial, on February 14, 1654, of “Mrs. Anne, wife of John Downham,” preacher, whose skill in Floriculture was commemorated in the name for a time commonly given to the Purple Auricula,<sup>4</sup> and whom

<sup>1</sup> 1664 “Thomas, son of William Davenett, Knight, and of Dame Mary, born 14th, christened 31st January.”

<sup>2</sup> The father of Bishop Ken lived for awhile in this parish, but was living at Furnival's Inn at the time of the baptism of his son, the author of the Morning and Evening hymns. \* His wife, the mother of the future bishop, was the daughter of John Chalkhill, the poet.—Anderson's *Life of Ken*, pp. 74, 829. (2nd edit.)

<sup>3</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

<sup>4</sup> Auricula flore pupureo—“commonly called *the fair Downham*.”—*Flora*, by John Bea, Gent., p. 151.

the author of a treatise on Garden Shrubs and Flowers, speaks of as "my good friend, a reverent divine, and an industrious priest."

It was in the Barbican that the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar lived in the days when James the First was king. Before the Ambassador's house a riot took place in which the hatred of the people of London towards Spain and Gondomar was shown. In 1618, as one of his attendants was passing through Chancery Lane, his horse happened to throw down a little child. On examination by the doctor, the child proved not to be seriously hurt. Before this however could be ascertained, the mob, declaring that the child was killed, pursued the Spaniard with fierce cries until he took refuge in the embassy, the windows of which they proceeded to break in approved mob fashion. Though the Lord Chief Justice and the Attorney General, who lived near, came with the Lord Mayor and succeeded in appeasing the anger of the rioters, seven lads were imprisoned for six months, and a fine of five hundred pounds was inflicted on each of them. This latter part of the sentence, however, was remitted at the request, as it was given out, of the Secretary of the Spanish Legation. The Lord Mayor, though he had succeeded with others in suppressing the riot, was nevertheless required to apologise to Gondomar for the rudeness of the London mob.<sup>1</sup>

Nearly opposite Bridgewater House and fronting the open country was a house occupied for a time by John Milton. This has been destroyed only within the last few years. The poet removed here in 1645 from the "pretty garden house in Aldersgate," which he continued

<sup>1</sup> *Remembrancia*, 1878.



to occupy until the increase of his pupils necessitated a larger house than he had hitherto tenanted. Here in the Barbican the poet married his first wife Mary Powell, of Forest Hill, in Oxfordshire,<sup>1</sup> and here he sheltered her cavalier father, Richard Powell, until he died in 1646.<sup>2</sup> Here too his children were born, and in this house his young wife and his own father both died.<sup>3</sup> It could scarcely have been accident which brought Milton to the Barbican, so close to Bridgewater House. He was born in Bread Street in the City, and one of the great poet's first essays in the divine art of poesy, "The Mask of Comus," was written in 1634, to be acted at Ludlow Castle by the Lady Alice Egerton and her two brothers, whose father owned the great house in the Barbican. This exquisite poem was published in 1637 by Harry Lawes, the composer of the music to whose praises Milton dedicated the thirteenth of his sonnets. In 1647 Milton quitted this house for one in High Holborn, looking over Lincoln's-inn-fields. He was, however, destined to return to this neighbourhood, at first to a house in Jewin Street, and then, after other migration, "to a house in the Artillery Walk"<sup>4</sup> in Bunhill Row, not a street at that time, but a row of houses looking over Moorfields, and within sight and scent of wild flowers. Here, amid blindness, old age,

<sup>1</sup> "It was concluded that his wife should remain at a friend's house until such times as he was settled in his new house at Barbican, and all things for her reception in order."—Phillips' *Life of Milton*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Papers respecting Milton* (Camd. Soc.), p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Milton, his wife, died here in the summer of 1652, at the age of twenty-six. John Milton, his father, died here in March 1646. In the *Burial Register of St. Giles* is the entry, 1646 "John Milton, Gentleman, 15 March."

<sup>4</sup> Phillips' *Life of Milton*, p. 98.

narrow means, and attacks of the gout, his great Epic poem, "Paradise Lost," was written and published in 1667. Here he died in 1674, and from Bunhill Row his body was carried forth to be laid beside the grave of his father in the church of St. Giles.

Some five years before Milton settled in the Barbican with his young wife, one of the most celebrated of English antiquaries had died in the same street. Whilst Sir Henry Spelman was living here Sir Roger Twysden kept his town house in Red Cross Street,<sup>1</sup> and here the two were visited by congenial antiquaries, such as William Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, John Selden, Archbishop Usher, and some times by Samuel Daniel—"well-languaged Daniel"—historian and poet, from his rural retreat in Old Street.<sup>1</sup> The very array of these names tells us how choice must have been the literary circle, which gathered in the study of Spelman in the Barbican or of Twysden in Red Cross Street. Here the last-named antiquary collected an extensive library, about which let me, as we stroll down the Barbican, tell a story illustrating the vanity of earthly wishes and testamentary directions in general. Twysden, in directions as to the safe keeping of his library, says:—"I would not have them that come after me sell any of my bookes, ney, though they find I have two of one and y<sup>e</sup> same sort. . . Ney, if it so fortune, I have same edition twise, as certayn workes of Padre Paolos

<sup>1</sup> 1635 Dec. 15. Christened William, Son of Sir Roger Twisden, Knt. and Bart.—*Church Register, St. Giles*'.

<sup>2</sup> Langbaine's *English Dramatic Poets*, p. 100: "As the tortoise burieth itself all the winter under the ground; so Mr. Daniel would be hid in his garden house in Old Street, nigh London, for some months together (the more retiredly to enjoy the company of the muses), and then would appear in public to converse with his friends, whereof Dr. Cowell and Mr. Camden were principal."—*Fuller*.

and others printed at Venice 1606 and 1607, during the tyme y<sup>t</sup> republique was interdicted by Paolo V<sup>to</sup> yet put them not away, for they are such bookes as are not to be got, at least of y<sup>t</sup> edition, nor never will be prynted again w<sup>th</sup> equal authoryty,...see the Trattato del' Interdetto, prynted at Venice, anno 1606." <sup>1</sup> Alas for the wishes of the dead! This volume was bought a few years ago at an old book shop about half a mile from the house Sir Roger once occupied in Red Cross Street, and rests, for awhile, in the library of the writer of these pages.

But Wriothesleys, Spelmans, Bridgewaters, Twysdens, and Miltons were not the only tenants of this region. If the rich and illustrious lived here, so did the poor and nameless.<sup>2</sup> It was the outskirts of the town, and, as we have seen, it was a favourite retreat for fortune-tellers, astrologers, coiners, pick-pockets, *et hoc genus omne*. The wizard and witch loved the spot, because it was convenient ground to receive visits from clients or customers, and the gibbets on the moor and the grave yards near, the memorials of times of pestilence, yielded a supply of the horrid materials popularly supposed to be used by these diviners.<sup>3</sup> But we have no space for vulgar witches and wizards. The rank and file of fortune-tellers and astrologers

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to Certaine Considerations upon the Government of England*, by Sir Roger Twysden (Camd. Soc.) p. xv.

<sup>2</sup> "From Red Cross, north with Golding Lane, which stretched up to a cross in Elde Street, while Golding Lane on both the sides is replenished with many tenements of poor people."—*Stow's Survey*.

<sup>3</sup> "One Christopher Morgan, a plaisterer, and his wife dwelling in Beche-lane besides the Barbicane occupieth the Syve and Sheeres. Item one Croxton's wife in Golding Lane in Saint Giles parishe occupieth the Syve and Sheeres, and she only speaketh with the fayrayes."—*Autobiography of Edward Underhill in Narratives of the days of the Reformation* (Camd. Soc.) p. 334. On divination by the Sieve and Shears, see Brand's *Pop. Antiq.* ii. 639.

must give place to a cheat and quack of no ordinary rank, who made this parish for a time his residence.

In the autobiography of Simon Forman, under A.D. 1589, we read : " The 22 dai of Aug. I toke a chamber at Jeams Askes in Barbican.<sup>1</sup> " And who," the reader will ask, " is Simon Forman ? " Alas for wordly fame he is forgotten, except by a Dryasdust here and there ; yet Simon Forman was a man of influence and of evil repute in the closing years of the great Queen and the early days of her successor. It was one of the charges used to secure the conviction of Mistress Turner,<sup>2</sup> who made yellow starch go out of fashion for a time by being hung in a ruff coloured with it, that she used to speak of him as " Sweet Father Forman," which, at her trial, elicited from Sir Edward Coke, one of his coarse jests, " Truly the Devil's foreman."<sup>3</sup> Simon Forman was an astrologer, quack, fortune teller, and had other less innocent callings beside. He seems to have been an incessant plague to the London Physicians. In their College books is an entry in 1598, " Simon Forman, of the county of Wilts, appears and confesses that he has practised medicine in England for sixteen years, and in London for two only. He states persons whom he has cured ; boasts that he uses no other help than the Ephemerides, and by celestial signs and aspects and constellations of the plants he can at once understand any disease. He showed himself laughably ignorant of astronomy.<sup>4</sup> He was interdicted from practice, and was

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography of Simon Forman*, p. 20, ed. Halliwell.

<sup>2</sup> Hung for being accessory to the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

<sup>3</sup> *Egerton Papers* (Camd. Soc.) pp. 471-473.

<sup>4</sup> In former days ignorance of medicine might have been excused in the doctor had he been " grounded in astronomye." (Chaucer in Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*, *The Doctor of Phisik*). The misfortune of Forman was that he was ignorant of both these subjects.

fined £5 to be paid in sixteen days, which he promised to do and gave his faith." Whether he kept faith may be reasonably doubted. Two years afterwards he was again cited and examined in medicine and astrology, but was again reported ignorant of both. He was now fined £10 and imprisoned. However, he seems to have had powerful patrons, and a few days after was released by authority of the Keeper of the Great Seal. The next year he was cited and confessed that he "prescribed medicines only by astrology." In 1601 it was reported that he "is now safe and jolly in Lambeth as in a port, so that by our officers he cannot be taken;" however on complaint, the archbishop promised "that his officers shall give assistance" to secure him. In 1606 he was again summoned before the College of Physicians, but on this occasion he refused to come unless assured of a safe return. In 1609 we have the curt entry: "Forman the imposter was cited," but no intimation is given that he obeyed the summons, and thus he vanishes from the College records.<sup>1</sup> He was consulted by Mrs. Turner as to the poisoning of Sir Thos. Overbury in 1618, but, fortunately for himself, died before the trial of the perpetrators of that murder.<sup>2</sup>

Cornhill and Long Lane Smithfield were the Rag fair and Rosemary Lane of the middle ages, the places where old shoes, second-hand doublets, and hats, not new but, renovated until they were "as good as new," might be bought at all times. From Long Lane the trade in old garments seems to have extended into Barbican, and a Barbican broker became the recognised euphemism for a

<sup>1</sup> *Eighth Report of Commiss. on Hist. Manuscripts*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of his singular death, see Lilly's *Life of Forman*.

dealer in second-hand clothes.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in Massinger's "City Madam," a play licensed in 1632, a City apprentice, who affects genteel society and fashionable clothes, says,

"A Barbican Broker will furnish me with outside."<sup>2</sup>

It is a mark of the respectability of the Barbican that one of the earliest coffee houses in London was opened here. In the Beaufoy cabinet, now in the Guildhall Museum, is a token assigned to 1666 and struck by—

ROBERT HAYES AT THE COFFE HOUS IN BARBICAN.

FORMERLY IN PANNYERS ALLEY.<sup>3</sup>

Between Golden, or rather Golding Lane, and White Cross Street, stood the old Fortune Theatre, "the fairest playhouse in this town," as a newsletter tells us. It was built in 1599-60 by Philip Henslowe and William Alleyne, the founder of Dulwich College. It was opened in 1601, but was burnt down on Sunday night, December 1621, when everything belonging to the players and the Manuscripts of plays to be acted were destroyed.<sup>4</sup> It was rebuilt of brick, but in 1649 the interior was again burnt, this time, it is said, by the Puritan objectors to dramatic entertainments. In 1661 an attempt was made to let the site for building purposes, but this was only partially suc-

<sup>1</sup> "Barbican, a good broad street, well inhabited by tradesmen, especially salesmen for apparel both new and old."—R. B. in Strype's *Hist. of London*, vol. iii. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Act ii. scene 1.

<sup>3</sup> Burn's *London Tradesmen's Tokens*. Boyne's *Tokens*.

<sup>4</sup> "It was quite burnt down in two hours, and all their apparel and play-books lost, whereby these poor companions are quite undone. There were two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were saved."—*Court and Times of James the First*, vol. i. p. 288. "1621. Dec. 9. Md. This night at 12 of the clock the fortune was burnt."—Alleyne's *Diary*, edit. Collier.

cessful.<sup>1</sup> What remained of the old building was converted, as well as it could be, into dwelling houses. Near the theatre stood the Nursery or School for the education of "the King's children," that is of the Royal Company of Players. This house was, about the same time, altered and converted into tenements, and in this state existed till our own days. A plaster figure of Fortune gave name to this theatre,<sup>2</sup> and the memory of it is still preserved in Playhouse Yard.

I have in these papers spoken of Red Cross Street and White Cross Street.<sup>3</sup> They are said to have derived their names from the signs or armorial bearings of the abbey of Ramsey, and of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, to which monasteries a house in each of these streets belonged. These houses being distinguished the one by a Red cross, the other by a White cross, the streets obtained, for that reason, their respective names. There is in the Bodleian library at Oxford, a roll of the inhabitants of these two precincts of St. Giles', who paid the subsidy of 1691-2. It forms a directory of the parishioners of this part of the parish at that date. On examination however, it seemed to me to contain no names of any interest to the historian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mercurius Politicus*, from Tuesday, February 14th, to Tuesday, the 21st of the same month, the following advertisement appeared:—"The Fortune playhouse, situated between Whitecross Street and Goulding Lane, in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, with the ground thereto belonging, is to be let to be built upon; where twenty-three tenements may be erected with gardens; and a street may be cut through, for the better accommodation of the buildings."

<sup>2</sup> "A picture of Dame Fortune

Before the Fortune playhouse,"—*Heywood*. See also Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Redcrouchestrete" occurs in 1353, Riley's *Memorials of London*. preface, p. xv.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Charters and Deeds in the Bodleian Library*, p. 164.

*Beating the Bounds.*§ 2. *Beech Street, Grub Street, Little Moorfields.*

Beech Lane, or, as it is now called, Beech Street, has a sylvan sound; the name, however, is not borrowed from beech trees once growing on this spot; indeed, had any trees grown here they would most probably have been alders, not beeches. The name of both lane and street for the two are practically one, and was given them, as Stow tells us, "peradventure" because Nicholas de la Beech, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, in the reign of Edward the Third, had a residence here.<sup>1</sup> The same writer adds that "this lane stretcheth from the Red Cross Street to White Cross Street, replenished not with beech trees, but with beautiful houses of stone, brick, and timber." Stow's information is of greater value than his etymological guesses.<sup>2</sup>

In earlier days the road, whether called Beech Lane or Chiswell Street, was crossed by some of the streams which flowed through the moor in their course toward the Thames. It gives us some idea of the state of Moorfields or Finsbury to read that "a presentment was made in 1267, against the Abbot of Ramsey and the Prior of Holy Trinity"—the owners of what we may call the White Cross and Red Cross houses—"for that they

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas de la Beech might have derived his name from this street, he could not have given it to the street. The derivation is an obvious one. Bec, becc, is in Saxon a brook, a rapid stream. Hence Dr. Bosworth in his *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, says: "Beco, bec, beck, used for the names of places or as the termination to the names of places; denotes the situation to be near a brook or river." This agrees with what we know of the topographical nature of Beech Street, as noted in the paragraph above.



built six years past a certain stone arch," or bridge, "at the Whitecross in the ward of Cripplegate, beyond the course of a certain water coming from Smithfield towards the moor, and that the same being straitened, prevented the water having its full course and caused great annoyance to the inhabitants." This or another of the streams of the fen ran through Grub Street and found its way under the walls of the City and into the Wallbrook. This rivulet and a well or pool in the same street seem to have supplied the people living near them with drinking water, and were maintained partly at their expense.<sup>1</sup>

The editor of Stow in the edition of 1754 speaks of the lane as "a place of slender account as to trade, or resort, and but indifferent as to its inhabitants." The addition to Beech Lane eastward, made rather more than a hundred years ago to connect it with Chiswell Street, was known as "Beech Street," a name now used for the whole street from Barbican to Chiswell Street. The small remnant of the old "lane" preserves its original features to the present day. At the corner of Red Cross Street was a mansion belonging to the Prior of Holy Trinity in the Minories who, by virtue of his office, was Alderman of the ward of Portsoken. At the corner of White Cross Street was the town residence of the Abbot of Ramsey.

Soon after the dissolution of the monasteries the house belonging to Ramsey Abbey became the property of Sir Drewe Drewrie, and was then known as

<sup>1</sup> "Payd for ye course off ye water in Grub Street to Seygnt Edmund's Chtrehe in Lombarde Strete for a hole yere endyng at Micylemasse, 12d." "for cleansyng the well in Grub Strete 4d." *St. Alphage Churchwardens' Accounts*, edit. T. J. Elwin.

Drewrie House. Here lived Prince Rupert who had commanded the royal cavalry during the struggle between his uncle Charles the First and the Long Parliament. Soon after the restoration of the monarchy the Prince retired to this place and devoted much of his time to scientific and artistic pursuits.<sup>1</sup> If it is not certain that we owe the discovery of mezzotinto to the Prince—for like many inventions others have claimed the discovery of this kind of engraving—we at least owe its improvement and its introduction into this country to him. Before he became a soldier he was known for his skill in etching, and when an active career in arms was closed to him, he again resumed the graver and proved that his love for art had not been extinguished by his military studies. Prince Rupert's drops were brought by him from Holland, and whether he discovered these or not, Beckmann tells us that "the services which he rendered to the useful arts were too great and too numerous to be either lessened or increased" by this.<sup>2</sup> Here in Beech Street he made his chemical experiments with as much ardour as he had charged at the head of a squadron of horse at Naseby or Marston Moor, and handled the retort and the blowpipe as skilfully as he had wielded the broad sword and rapier. "He laboured heartily at his own forge, and applied himself to the practical as well as to the theoretical details of science. The transactions of the Royal Society record his mode of fabricating a gunpowder of greater strength than was ordinary at that time, likewise a

<sup>1</sup> The Prince had a house in Spring Gardens, St. James's Park. The house in Beech Street was, probably, his country or "garden-house," his retreat for study. A view of so much as remained of this house in the early part of this century was published by Mr. J. T. Smith, in his *Antiquities of London*.

<sup>2</sup> Beckmann's *History of Inventions*, vol. ii. p. 244 (Bohn).

mode of blowing up rocks in mines or under water, an instrument to cast platforms into perspective, an hydraulic machine, a mode of making hail shot, an improvement in the naval quadrant . . . among his chemical discoveries were the composition now called Prince's Metal and a mode of rendering black lead fusible and rechanging it into its original state."<sup>1</sup> The Restoration had hardly taken place, when we find Prince Rupert assigning to Lord Ashley a fourth part of his interest in an improved method of converting iron into steel.<sup>2</sup> At his house in Beech Street, he collected one of the largest libraries of those days, and this was a time of large private libraries. His cousin Charles the Second paid him visits at Drewrie House, and in the Churchwardens' accounts of this parish mention is made of a payment to the Bellringers of St. Giles' on occasion of one of these visits of the King. Here in his walks Prince Rupert could hardly avoid meeting the blind poet, who, in bitter abusive pamphlets, sadly at variance with what we might have expected from the author of *Lycidas*, of *Comus* and *Il Penseroso*, had poured out the vials of party wrath against the cause which Prince Rupert had supported in the field with more courage than success.

Grub or Ditch Street, as the name means,<sup>3</sup> seems to have been one of the most considerable streets in the parish, as it was one of the most ancient. We read of

<sup>1</sup> Warburton's *Life of Prince Rupert*, vol. iii. p. 432.

<sup>2</sup> *Third Report of Commission on Historical MSS.* p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> *Grube* for ditch is still in use in Norfolk and the adjoining counties.—Halliwell, *Arch. Dict.* Professor Earle. Mr. Holt, in a letter to me, says :—" We have in Icelandic, *gröf*, a *pit*, *Mæso-Gothic* (Ulfilas) *gropa*, a *hole*, *pit*. German, *grube*, *pit* (a *pit*) *hole*, *ditch*, *grave*. German, *Grab* n. a *grave*. Anglo-Saxon *græf* a *grave* and *Grafan*, *fodere*." See Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dict.*

Grobbe Strete and Grobbe Lane early in the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In 1485, part of it belonged to the king, and a lease for seven years "of a tenement with a garden" in this Street was granted by the crown to William Birkhed in the first year of the reign of Henry the Seventh.<sup>2</sup> The earliest London directory, that of 1677, preserves the names of the chief London traders. Of these living in this parish, six resided in Grub Street, nine in Little Moorfields, three in Ropemaker Alley, one in Tenter Alley and one in Chiswell Street. These are the only traders and merchants of this parish whose names occur in the directory. It will be observed that none lived to the west of Grub Street.

We may glance along Grub Street: more than this we cannot attempt. To do justice to the memories of Grub Street would require a long chapter, and lead to a survey of the literary history, and especially of the secret literary history, of this country during the century from 1650 to 1750, and somewhat later. The fact that half a dozen authors had found it convenient to settle here drew others to the same spot. Many of these, as is the wont of authors, were poor. The street was not the chosen abode of wits and literary fops. Men who sought to gain a living by their writings affected this street until "a Grub Street man" was a contemptuous term applied by writers of more affluence but not more integrity to an honest author who lived or attempted to live by his pen, as well as to a satirist who lived principally by the threat of printing his satires. This however could as readily be done from

<sup>1</sup> Riley's *Memorials of London*, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry the Seventh* (Rolls), p. 194.

Islington or Twickenham as from Grub Street. This street had still in the end of the seventeenth century some spacious and handsome houses; afterwards, as Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary tells us, it was "much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems, whence any mean publication is called Grub Street."<sup>1</sup>

Tried by this standard, Samuel Johnson was a Grub Street writer: a fact which he seems to recognise in introducing dictionary makers as belonging to this fraternity. Oliver Goldsmith also belonged to the same class.<sup>2</sup> When we remember this we shall be inclined to acknowledge that Grub Street was, after all, at least as respectable as many a more aristocratic haunt of the Muses.

The number of authors who lived in this street led to the publication of the *Grub Street Journal*, which was brought to an end by the halfpenny duty levied under the Newspaper Stamp Act of 1712. One of the earliest literary societies or clubs of London was held at the Pegasus Tavern in this street,<sup>3</sup> and a weekly magazine *The Memoirs of the Grub Street Society*, was issued by the club.<sup>4</sup> This periodical was commenced Jan.

<sup>1</sup> "During the Usurpation, a prodigious number of seditious and libellous pamphlets and papers, tending to exasperate the people, and increase the confusion in which the nation was involved, were from time to time published. The authors of these were for the most part those whose indigent circumstances compelled them to live in the suburbs and most obscure parts.—Hawkins' *Life of Johnson*, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Forster's *Life of Goldsmith*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Which stood, no doubt, hard by "Flying Horse Court" in Grub Street.

<sup>4</sup> The treatise of Dr. Russel, the secretary of the club, on the advantages of sea bathing, was the foundation of the prosperity of Brighton, where on his retirement the Grub Street author settled and practised as a physician.

1780, the year before the longer lived *Gentleman's Magazine* was started. It continued in existence for about seven years. An attempt made to revive this magazine under the name of *The Literary Courier of Grub Street* was unsuccessful. Only a few numbers of the new periodical were published. It is said that the first person who used the term "Grub Street" in a disparaging sense was Andrew Marvel,<sup>1</sup> who in his *Rehearsal Transposed* speaks of a writer as "deep gone in Grub Street and polemical divinity" and in the same volume says, "These are your impertinent tricks; you have learnt this of the Puritans of Grub Street."

This street in the seventeenth century, however, was going down in the world. Its surroundings were of ill repute. The atmosphere of our prisons was deadly enough in those times, but a writer in the early part of that century tells us that "a nasty stinking lodging in a jayle is sweeter land than any garden-house about Bunhill."<sup>2</sup> He is probably speaking as much of the moral as of the material state of Bunhill Fields. There were still however in Grub Street, good houses, roomy mansions which had been once tenanted by wealthy families and was still occupied in that century by people of some means and distinction.<sup>3</sup> One of the inhabitants of this street in

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, vol. ii. p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> Mynshall's *Essays and Characters of a Prison*, 1618.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. 1652, "Sept. 19. Coll. Robt. Manwering died in Grub Street."—Smyth's *Obituary*. In 1660, Edmund Harrison, "Her Majesty's embroiderer by patent for life," lived here, and acknowledged the possession of several of the pictures belonging to Charles the First, which had been "received in part payment of a debt due from his late Majesty."—*Seventh Report of Hist. Commission, MSS.* p. 88.

earlier days was Foxe, the Martyrologist. His name stands in the burial register of St. Giles under April 20, 1587, "John Ffox, householder, preacher." A house in this street was in the last century the dwelling-place of Mr. Henry Welby, a gentleman of whom it is related, in a printed narrative, that "he lived forty years without being seen of any."

In its best days Grub Street consisted largely of houses of entertainment for Archers frequenting Finsbury Fields. When Archery went out of use except as an amusement, some of these houses were deserted and others were turned into ale-houses, where bowls and dice and other games of chance went on day and night.<sup>1</sup> The street seems to have been occupied by costermongers, and in the last century we have a notice of what was till lately a gainful trade in this part of the parish.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the present century the houses were repaired and the name of "Grub Street" being, I suppose, considered vulgar, it was changed into "Milton Street," not, however, as some persons think, in compliment to the poet, but to keep alive the memory of the carpenter and builder who had speculated in buying up the leases of the old houses in this street.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "In the east end of Fore Street is More Lane, then next is Grub Street, of late years inhabited by bowyers, fletchers, bow string makers, and such like occupations, now little occupied, archery giving place to a number of bowling alleys and dicing houses which in all places are increased and too much frequented." Stow. In Henslowe's *Diary* (1600), we read of "the fostchen dier in Grobstreat."

<sup>2</sup> "Died Sept. 1773, in Grub Street, Mr. Horton, who acquired a fortune of £2,000 by letting out wheel barrows to the poor."—*Annual Register*.

<sup>3</sup> Southey's *Common-place Book*, fourth series, p. 456, Elmes, *Topographical Dict. of London*, 1831. In one way the name of the street may perhaps be connected with the poet. There may

In Sweeden's Passage, leading from Grub Street to Moor Lane, stood a timber house which tradition says was tenanted at one time by Sir Richard Whittington, and afterwards by Sir Thomas Gresham; a few paces from this house, in Hanover Court, Milton Street, which has disappeared within the last few years, was a house traditionally said to have been occupied by General Monk when arranging for the dissolution of the Parliament and the restoration of Charles the Second. The remains of handsome stairs and other fittings showed that the house had once seen "better days." It was, when pulled down for the extension of Messrs. Gibbs' Soap Warehouse, divided into several tenements and was let out room by room. Some of the older inhabitants, however, had recollections of a low brick wall in front of the house together with a fore court and handsome gates.<sup>1</sup>

Opposite Hanover Court, between Silk Street and Chapel Street, was a building erected for a chapel, but afterwards turned into a theatre, where the elder Kean and other dramatic celebrities of this day acted. After it served this purpose it was converted into public baths and then occupied as a schoolroom and Mission Hall supported at the expense of a congregational chapel in the Poultry. It has been pulled down within the last dozen years.

An advertisement which appeared in the *Daily Courant* of May 16, 1710, gives us a curious and interesting

possibly have been some relationship between the scrivener of Bread Street and afterwards of Barbican, and the humbler—hardly humbler—persons who bore the same names in other parts of this parish. How nearly "John Milton" was related to William Milton, mealman, who lived in Barbican 1666 (see Burn's *Tradesmen's tokens*), I leave however to professional genealogists.

<sup>1</sup> Engravings of both these old houses are given in J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London*.



glimpse of Ropemaker Street and of the character of its houses at that date: "In Ropemaker Alley in Little Moorfields is a very sweet and large house to be lett. The Drawing Room and Parlour well Wainscotted to the Top. A good Wash-house and Chamber over it in case of Sickness, or other occasions. With a very large Garden Walled in and well Planted, the Walks well Gravell'd; the House stands alone by itself in the midst of pleasant Gardens. 'Tis fit for a gentleman of a considerable Family or any that wants a large House for a Boarding School or such occasion. Inquire of Mr. Hudson in the said Alley."<sup>1</sup>

We should look in vain for any house answering to this description in or near Ropemaker Street at the present time.

In June, 1780, alarming riots, occasioned by a bill before Parliament for the relief of the Roman Catholics, broke out in London. On Sunday afternoon, June 4th, the rioters assembled and attacked the dwelling-houses of members of this persuasion in Moorfields. At that time, the site of the National School, in White Street, pulled down in 1880, was occupied by a Roman Catholic Chapel. The rioters "stript the priest's house of furniture, and the chapel not only of its ornaments and insignia of religion, but tore up the altars, pulpits, pews, and benches, and made fires of them, leaving nothing but the bare walls."<sup>2</sup> The houses of Mrs. Crook in White's Street, and of Mr. Malo, a Spanish merchant, in Little Moorfields, were destroyed, Other houses in Golden Lane, in Feather-

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Lee's *Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Register*, 1780, p. 259.

stone Street, and Coleman Street,<sup>2</sup> Bunhill Row, were pillaged, and the furniture destroyed. Large bonfires were made in White Street and Moorfields.<sup>1</sup> Several years ago, an old man related to me his recollection of this riot. He had a vivid remembrance of the images—which in his childish fright he supposed to be living persons—brought from the Chapel, and tossed into the fire. He spoke of the Associated Troopers called out to suppress the riot, who, in their want of discipline, fired here and there, especially where there were no rioters;<sup>3</sup> and then the miserable sequel of all this: a batch of lads hung up in Moorfields, before the ruins of one of the houses which had been destroyed.<sup>4</sup>

On the 25th February, 1820, Arthur Thistlewood, one of the Cato Street conspirators, was arrested with two of his companions at No. 8, White Street, on a charge of high treason and murder. He had fled to this place on the discovery of the plot to assassinate the Ministers of State of George IV., and was taken whilst in bed, in the room on the right of the passage on the ground floor. This was pointed out to me a few years ago by a

<sup>1</sup> "August 1780. Rev. Mr. Richard Dillon, late of the Roman Catholic Chapel in Moorfields, where he had resided for 36 years, till it was destroyed by the mob in the late riots; at the same time his house having been totally pulled down, his books and household furniture burnt without even a bed left for him to lie on. The shock he received from such barbarous treatment deeply affected his health and spirits, and is supposed to have hastened his death."—*Annual Register*.

<sup>2</sup> My informant told me that he remembered the father of the late Alderman of the Ward, Mr. Challis, running away from these amateur troopers, and receiving a shot—fortunately only through his hat.

<sup>3</sup> Of the twelve tried for the riots in this parish, four were acquitted, four were found guilty but recommended to mercy and reprieved, four were left for death.

woman who lodged in the house at the time of his apprehension.<sup>1</sup>

There were several halls of City Companies in this parish—Loriners' Hall in Basinghall Street, Frame Knitters' or Stocking Weavers' Hall in Red Cross Street, and Glovers' Hall in Beech Street. The fraternity of Cooks had two houses in Little Moorfields, though their hall was in Aldersgate Street.<sup>2</sup> In 1659 the Court of this Company applied to enlarge their premises in the parish of St. Giles, and at a Vestry held in September of that year it was—

“Ordered that the said Company of Cooks shall have a lease forwith drawn of those two houses in Little Moorfields, which they hold of this parish and of that piece of ground which is to be added to their former lease, which shall be fenced off by a brick wall at the charge of the parish. All this they shall have 81 years beginning March the 25th, 1660, for the rent of £82 p. ann. It was further agreed to take of £12 p. ann. of the rent aforesaid at nine years' purchase, which fine is to be paid at the sealing of the lease. They gave X shillings for the use of the poor.”

There were others besides the Worshipful Company of Cooks who had their houses in Little Moorfields, which then opened pleasantly upon the walks of Moorfields, much as the houses in Park Lane and the Uxbridge road now look over Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens. Little Moorfields indeed was a quarter with more than ordinary pretensions to gentility. I have shown what

<sup>1</sup> *State Trials*, 1820, and *Annual Register* of the same year.

<sup>2</sup> *Smyth's Obituary*, pp. 64, 81.

kind of houses might be found in Ropemakers' Alley in the beginning of the last century. Houses with drawing rooms and parlours, standing in large gardens with well-gravelled walks. Thirty years before that the houses in Little Moorfields were hardly inferior to these. In 1682, we read that "Sir Thos. Fitch hath taken of the City, Little Moorfields to build on, and he obligeth to pave the way, and put broad stones and stumps before the houses, which houses shall be come to by an ascent of five steps, and the first floor thirteen feet high, with coach houses and stables to each house, so that there will be fine and airy living for merchants, and the better sort of citizens, He takes [it] by the foot, I am told."<sup>1</sup> As we know from the London Directory about this time, "merchants and the better class of citizens" did come to live there.

In the London Directory of 1677 among the list of merchants and bankers of London occurs the name of "William Kiffin, Little Moorfields." He was a wealthy dissenter of that time, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the City Militia under the Commonwealth, and a "preacher under the Restoration." He was however in much favour with the Court of Charles the Second. In this reign the Charter of the City of London had been declared forfeited to the Crown and the Lord Mayor, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Aldermen displaced and others appointed by the King.<sup>2</sup> During the time the Charter was in obedience Kiffin was made Alderman of the Ward of Chepe by King James II.; the favour with which he was regarded did not however prevent the execution of two of his grandsons for participa-

<sup>1</sup> *Seventh Report of Commission on Hist. MSS.* p. 480.

<sup>2</sup> Norton's *Commentary on the Chartered Franchise of the City of London*, chap. xx.

tion in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion.<sup>1</sup> Alderman Kiffin died Dec. 29th, 1701, aged 86, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.<sup>2</sup>

I have elsewhere spoken of book-stalls in Moorfields. The mention of these makes this a fitting place for a notice of Richard Smyth, who was for many years an inhabitant of Little Moorfields. He was one of the earliest of our book-collectors, and his library one of the largest belonging to a private person of which we have any account. At the death of his son he retired from his post of Secondary of the Poultry Compter, "and betook himself wholly to a private life." We are told that he was "a person infinitely anxious in and inquisitive after books, and suffered nothing considerable to escape him that fell within the compass of his learning, desiring to be master of no more than he knew how to use. He was constantly known every day to walk his rounds among the booksellers' shops in London (especially in Little Britain)<sup>3</sup> and by his great skill and experience he made choice of such books as were not obvious to every man's eye."<sup>4</sup> He died March 26, 1675, aged 85 years, having survived

<sup>1</sup> "It is said that King Charles at one time when much in want of money sent to Mr. Kiffin, requesting the loan of forty thousand pounds. Kiffin excused himself by declaring that he had not such a sum but that it would be of service to his Majesty he would present him with ten thousand." It was accepted, of course; and Kiffin used to say, that by giving ten he had saved thirty thousand." —Crosby's *History of the Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> He left behind him an interesting autobiography, edited and published in 1823 by Mr. Orme.

<sup>3</sup> "He lived to a very great age, and spent a good part of it almost entirely in the search of books, being as constantly known to walk his rounds through the shops as he sat down to meals." —*Preface to Sale Catalogue of Smyth's Library*.

<sup>4</sup> Peck's *Desid. Curios.* lib. xiii. num. 7.

his wife about eleven years. They were buried with their children in the parish church, where a monument was erected to their memory. Unsuccessful efforts were made to save his noble library from being scattered; the whole collection was sold by auction during May and June, 1682.<sup>1</sup> The extent of the library may be inferred from the circumstance that the closely printed quarto catalogue extends to four hundred and four pages. Smyth kept an obituary of persons known to him between 1627 and 1674; and from this, which I have frequently quoted, we learn the names, occupation, ages, and sometimes his estimate of the character of his neighbours of Little Moorfields.<sup>2</sup>

John Hoole, the translator of Ariosto, was born in Little Moorfields, and was indebted to his uncle, a tailor, in Grub Street, for the early part of his education.<sup>3</sup> But, to come to our own times: In 1796, John Keats, the author of "The Eve of St. Agnes," "Endymion," and other poems, was born at the residence of his grandfather, the Swan and Hoop livery stables, No. 28 Finsbury Pavement, which extended into Little Moorfields. He died young and was buried at Rome, whither he had gone in search of health. He did not die, however, until he had given indications of a genius which, had he lived, would probably have given him no mean place in the rank of English poets.

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* edit. Bliss, vol. iii. col. 1081.

<sup>2</sup> This *Obituary* was published by the Camden Society in 1849.

<sup>3</sup> Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Chalmers' *Biog. Dict.*

*Beating the Bounds.*§ 8. *Fore Street to Red Cross Street.*

The name Fore Street was until recent days sometimes limited to that part of the present street which extended from Little Moorfields to Moor Lane. From Moor Lane to Red Cross Street is distinguished in some early maps by the name of Moor Street. I speak here, however, of the whole street from Little Moorfields to St. Giles' church as Fore Street, the name it usually bore. This street at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Henry the Eighth was just mounting the throne, consisted of a few fragile timber and plaster houses fronting the City wall, and it remained so, seemingly, until after the fire of London in 1666.<sup>1</sup> The houses were small, and even at the beginning of the seventeenth century were detached. The street indeed—if the irregular single row of small houses could be called a street—was of smaller importance than almost any other street in the parish.<sup>2</sup> The houses were connected by a low wall or bank of earth, over which the passer-by might see hedge rows and the gardens of small cottages, and ale-houses gay with clumps of honeysuckle and hawthorn and the trailing branches of vines and other plants.<sup>3</sup> Green Arbour Court, Honeysuckle Court, Vine

<sup>1</sup> See Aggas' *Map of London in the time of Queen Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup> Whilst the Beaufoy Cabinet of Tradesmen's tokens now in Guildhall contains five issued by tradesmen in Grub Street, it has but one from Fore Street.—See Burn's *London Tradesmen's Tokens*. In Boyne's *Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century*, mention is made of five belonging to Fore Street, thirteen to Grub Street, and fifteen to Barbican.

<sup>3</sup> In the Guildhall Museum is a token with this inscription :

SIMON BOND, AT THE GREEN HOUSE

Rev.

IN LITTLE MOORFIELDS,

*In the field*

S. A. B. 1662.

A green house was a garden house with arbours and bowling alleys,

Court, and Hartshorn Court, the two latter destroyed within the last few years, preserve the memory of the time when this parish was to a large extent a rural district. Indeed until Green Arbour Court was removed between 1862 and 1864 for the railway, each house on one side of the court had its gardens, where flowers bloomed and pot herbs were grown. Other courts, such as Flying Horse Court, Frying Pan Court, Crow Court, and Sun Court now all pulled down, derived their names from the signs of shops or of small public houses. White Street, Butler's Alley, Sworder's Rents and Carr Square—the last two also destroyed—probably derived their names from their owners or chief inhabitants. Three Dagger Court, Three Pigeon Court, Three Tun Court, Three Leg Court, Boar's Head Court, and others were named from the armorial bearings of the families who lived there or who owned the land on which the courts stood,<sup>1</sup> whilst the names of Tenter and Ropemaker Alleys, now called Streets, preserve the memory of the trades carried on there—the making of rope and the finishing of cloth. In the seventeenth century several ropemakers and hemp dressers seem to have lived in what is now Little Moorfields.<sup>2</sup> The names of

of which there are repeated notices in the writings of the cotemporary dramatists with frequent reference also to the immoral character of these houses. The origin of the name of Green Arbour Court may be traced to the number of such houses in former times.

<sup>1</sup> The favourite cognizance in Heraldry is a triplet of keys, cups, swords, bugle horns, crescents, etc. Hence the frequent occurrence of three as part of the name of a court.

<sup>2</sup> "Our neighbour, old Mr. Marshall, ropemaker, in Morefields, died Mar. 2, 1651."

"Mr. Cherry, ropemaker, our honest neighbour in Morefields, died this morning early *ex peste*, Sep. 16, 1665."

"Daniel Fordham's wife, our trayned soldier, hemp beater in Morefields, died Mar. 22, 1670."—Smyth's *Obituary*.



these streets, alleys, and courts were, however, frequently changed.

In former days, instead of houses being numbered, they were distinguished by signs, many of them projecting more than half way across the narrow roads. Here and there in London we still find signs—a Blue Lion, or a Red Dog, or some other nondescript animal marking a public-house, and yet there are far fewer of such signs than were to be seen half a century ago. Formerly every shop had its sign.<sup>1</sup> Lupton, who in 1682 published a small volume entitled *London and the Country Carbonaded and Quartered in Character*, speaking of the City, says, "She is the countryman's labyrinth; he can find many things in it, but many times he loses himself; he thinks her to be bigger than heaven, for there are but twelve celestial signs there, and he knows them all very well, but here are thousands that he wonders at." A few years later we read that "two things specially are much taken notice of by strangers upon their first view of this glorious City. I mean its wonderful trade, and the great appearance in it of pictures in the air, that multitude of signs which hang before the houses, especially in streets of great trade, many of them very rich and costly and all together yielding a fair prospect."<sup>2</sup>

Where no signs were used, as in the case of private

<sup>1</sup> The charter to the City of the 14th year of Charles the First confirms to the citizens the right to "hang up, in and over the streets, signs and posts of signs, affixed to their houses and shops, without any impediment or interruption, the better to distinguish their dwellings, shop and occupation."—Norton's *Commentaries on the Franchises of London*, p. 523.

<sup>2</sup> *New State of England*, pt. i. 232 (1698).

houses, the difficulty which the postman of early days, or the public messenger, had in delivering letters is evident from the way in which they were addressed; *e.g.* in 1665, "Leave these at the furthestmost house in Nettleton's Court, Without Aldersgate, or at Mr. Welsh; a goldsmith, in New Rents in' St. Martin's in the Fields;" "For Dr. Hickes at the next house beyond the furthest lamp in King's Street, Bloomsbury."<sup>1</sup> Though an occasional sign might have been seen long after this way of distinguishing the houses had disappeared—indeed one or two yet linger in the streets of London—they were generally taken down throughout the City about 1764. Wood Street on one side of this parish and Whitecross Street, running through it, retained however these shop signs a few years later. In this parish they were not generally removed until 1778.<sup>2</sup>

Almost opposite Moor Lane is Basinghall Street, a portion of which is in this parish, and here stood Loriners' Hall, that is, the hall of the bit makers, an important trade in the days of chivalry. With the decay of feudalism, however, the Society of Loriners appears also to have decayed, and their hall was let first to the Glaziers' Company for a hall, and afterwards to a congregation of Independent dissenters. The chapel or hall was then

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Literary Men* (Camd. Soc.), p. 183—284.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter written about 1774, the writer notes the alterations which had taken place recently in London were, "The taking down the signs, the rooting up of the posts, the paving and lighting up of Oxford Road, Holborn, Monmouth Street and St. Giles, the new bridge near Blackfriars, and the introducing of asses in the street for the use of milkmen, fruiterers, hawkers, etc."—Hull's *Select Letters*, vol. ii. p. 183.

occupied by an umbrella and parasol manufacturer, and was finally pulled down.<sup>1</sup>

Had the reader sauntered up Fore Street towards Jewin Street, in the sixteenth century, he would have noted the conduit for water, near the triangular space by Red Cross Street, White Cross Street, and St. Giles' Church. There were several streams still running through the parish, and pools of water remained here and there upon the moor, but these were probably foul with sewage. To supply wholesome drinking water, the executors of Sir William Eastfield brought water in pipes of lead from Jack Straw's Castle at Highgate through Highbury and past the Pest House near where St. Luke's Hospital now stands, and "cross the road at Old Street, and under the bridge there into Bunhill Fields, and down the middle of Grub Street into Fore Street...to the conduit at Cripple-gate."<sup>2</sup> This conduit "the inhabitants adjoining castellated of their own cost and charge about the year 1488." The water supply thus obtained was so successful that about sixty years later, in 1546, two fifteenths were levied on the property of the citizens to bring water from Hackney and Finsbury Fields across this parish into the City to supply conduits at London Wall, at St. Stephen Church, Coleman Street, and at St. Margarets, Lothbury. The work was completed in September of that year, and the

<sup>1</sup> In the Directory for 1740 we are told that the Loriners have a hall in London Wall, but in the directory of 1765 that the company has "no hall," so that the Loriners ceased to occupy it between these years. Judging from a notice of it in Pepys' *Diary*, it appears to have been little known in the previous century: "To Loriners' Hall by Moorgate (a hall I never heard of before)."

<sup>2</sup> Ellis' *History of Shoreditch*, p. 364.

Chroniellers state that the water came full with great waste."<sup>1</sup>

Several attempts were made at various times to utilize the ditch and make it innexious. In 1684 the Commissioners of sewers with the assistance of Inigo Jones proposed that a vaulted sewer of four feet in breadth at the bottom and six feet at least in height should be made from Moor-ditch to the Minories, and so to the Thames, and that when this sewer was completed, this Moor-ditch should be filled up with earth, and kept as an open space, no houses being allowed thereon.<sup>2</sup> An Order in Council authorized the construction of the sewer, and adopted the other suggestions of the commissioners. No steps however seem to have been taken to carry out their recommendations. Probably the confusion of the times prevented. Again in 1657 an Act was passed in the Long Parliament by which among other provisions "The Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of London or any of their tenants were enabled to build houses on that said place, commonly called or known by the name of Moor-ditch or Towne-ditch, paying one year value, within one month after the said houses or any of them are built."<sup>3</sup> The days of Oliver the Protector and of his Parliament were however evidently ending, and this part of the Act would seem never to have taken effect. A few years afterwards, another scheme was proposed by which the ditch would have come to an end.

When London was about to be rebuilt after the great fire of 1666, the question of the ditch was revived. Amongst

<sup>1</sup> Wriothesley's *Chronicle*.

<sup>2</sup> *Remembrancia*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of the House of Commons*. Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, vol. ii. p. 288.

other projects of Sir Christopher Wren, was one to close the City churchyards and to lay out cemeteries in the suburbs, that is outside the walls. In pursuance of this idea, it was one part of the plan of the architect to convert the whole space occupied by the City ditch in this and in other parishes into a grave-yard, to be laid out with walks, and made as ornamental as the solemnity of the use to which it was proposed to be put would allow. Personal claims and private interest, however, prevented this plan from being carried into execution.

Jewin Street and Jewin Crescent by their names preserve the memory of the burial ground of the Jews, who in London, as elsewhere, buried their dead "without the gate."<sup>1</sup> Until their banishment for usurious dealing, and for clipping the coin in the time of Edward the First, they lived in various parts of the City. Their synagogue, however, was at the north-west corner of the Old Jewry, and their burial ground in this parish. When expelled from this country, their burial ground was given by Edward the First to St. Paul's Cathedral, and is described in the deed of gift as "a place without Cripplegate, and the suburbs of London called Layrestowe, and which was the burying place of the Jews of London." It was then valued at forty shillings per annum. This disused burial ground was known as "The Jews' garden,"<sup>2</sup> as though bodies were there but sown to spring up at the great Easter day. It remained for awhile desolate after the expulsion of the Jews, but by the middle of the sixteenth century it had

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey*. Lightfoot's *Collected Works*, vol. xiii. p. 399. Jahn's *Archæologia Biblica*, 206.

<sup>2</sup> "Now in the place where He was crucified was a garden; and in the garden was a new sepulchre, wherein man was never yet laid."—St. John xix. 41.

been "turned into fair garden plots and summer houses for pleasure."<sup>1</sup> Here, somewhat later, the famous grammarian and schoolmaster Farnabie had his boarding and day school, containing it is said more than three hundred scholars. Sir John Bramston, speaking of himself and of his early education, when he had been removed from his first school, because the master "suffered the boys to rob ponds and kill in snow and frost the pigeons of his neighbours," says, "From him I came to Mr. Farnabie, who taught schoole in a garden house in Goldsmythe's Alley, a fine airie place; he had joyned two or three gardens and houses together, and had a great manie boarders and towne schollars; so many that he had 2, sometimes three, ushers besides himselfe. I boarded with him, tho' my father then lived in Phillip Lane."<sup>2</sup>

It is pleasing to note that the scholars were not unmindful of their obligations to their old schoolmaster. When during the time of the commonwealth he was apprehended and committed to Newgate, and then sent on shipboard to be removed to America as a loyalist, he was by their influence saved from transportation to the plantations. He was however confined at Ely House, Holborn, where he remained until about a year before his death, when he was released. His health, however, had been ruined by his imprisonment and he died in 1647.<sup>3</sup>

In Well Street (formerly Crowder's Well Alley) is a well formerly enumerated among the "remarkable places

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Survey*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography* (Camd. Soc.) p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> See a petition of Farnabie in 1641 that a Latin grammar, which he had been directed by Charles the First to prepare, might be allowed to be used in schools. *Fourth Report, Commission on Hist. MSS.* p. 86. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 54. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 416.

and things" of the parish, now covered by a sewer and thirteen feet of earth. The well was so famous for the quality of its water as to make us regret that it was so far underground. Strype says of it:<sup>1</sup> "In Jewin Street is Crowder's Well Alley, very long, running into Aldersgate Street, through an inn yard. It hath pretty good buildings, which are well inhabited. This place is of some note for its well, which gives name to the alley. The water of this well is esteemed very good for sore eyes to wash them with, and is said to be very good to drink for several distempers, and some say it is very good for men in drink to take of this water, for it will allay the fumes and bring them to be sober."

At the corner of Bull Head Court in Jewin Street lived John Dunton, the eccentric bookseller, who married a daughter of Dr. Annesley, and was in this way the brother-in-law of Samuel Wesley the elder, and uncle of Samuel, John, and Charles Wesley.<sup>2</sup>

Another author who has given celebrity, or at least has added to the celebrity of the parish, remains to be noted. The author of *Robinson Crusoe* and of the *Journal of the Plague Year*, Daniel de Foe, was born in Cripple-gate, though whether in Red Cross Street, Grub Street, or Fore Street cannot be determined. His father was a butcher of the plebeian name of Foe, which his son changed into De Foe, though, until his death he was frequently addressed by the shorter name he derived from his father. De Foe led a chequered restless life, now in arms under the Duke of Monmouth and now in hiding from the messengers of Jeffreys after the battle of Sedg-

<sup>1</sup> Parish Clerk's *Survey*, 1732.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's edit. of *Slow's Survey of London*, book iii. p. 94.

See John Dunton's *Life and Errors*, vol. i. edit. Nicholls.

moor; now in prison and in the pillory for libel and sedition, now consulted confidentially by Ministers of State, and even, if he is to be believed, by the king himself;<sup>1</sup> now writing violent pamphlets for the Whigs, and then replying on behalf of the Tories to his own invectives; now in poverty, and then keeping a carriage out of the hire of his pen, or by secret service money received for work not even as honourable as that gained by the writings for which he was paid, and then again employed in fictitious narratives which still delight and long will fascinate readers of all ages and of all countries. For one reason or another he seems to have changed his abode in London at least as often as Milton had done, and besides his London residences to have wandered west to Bristol and north to Scotland. At one time we find him employed as a hosier in Cornhill and after that as a tile maker at Tilbury; a projector at all times, at all times a keen politician, but ever with an eye to self-interest. Whether, however, in prison, in the pillory, in poverty or in affluence, seemingly unmoved and not altogether underserving of Pope's sarcasm, "the unabashed De Foe,"<sup>2</sup> though it may fairly be questioned whether Pope had the right to fling this stone at De Foe.

In the latter years of his life De Foe lived at Stoke Newington; he died, however, in this parish in Ropemaker's Alley. The Register of St. Giles tells us that this took place on the 24th of April, 1781, and that two days after he was buried at Tyndal's Burial Ground, or, as it was after-

<sup>1</sup> This must be borne in mind, when we would estimate the value of any statement of De Foe, since his latest biographer says of him "He was a great, truly great liar, perhaps the greatest liar that ever lived. His dishonesty went too deep to be called superficial." *English Men of Letters. De Foe*, by William Minto.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dunciad*.



wards called, Bunhill Fields. The death of the restless old man is attributed in the register of his burial to "lethargy." About eighteen months after his death, on December 19, 1781, his widow—his second, or it may be his third wife—was buried in the same grave yard.<sup>1</sup> I speak thus doubtfully, for we know but little of De Foe with reference to his home and family life.<sup>2</sup> His name appears to have died out in the second generation, and the last record I find of his family is one of a sad and tragic character.<sup>3</sup>

The course of our perambulations has led us near to the point from whence we set out, and to the gate where, until domestic strife had ceased in England, visitors were confronted by the mouldering skull, now of a royalist, now of a rebel, grinning from the battlements of the gate.<sup>4</sup> There is still one note to be added to what I have said about Red Cross Street, the literary dwellers there in the olden time and the schools of more modern days. On Jan. 26th, 1716, died

<sup>1</sup> "1782. Dec. 19. Mrs. Defow, Stoke Newington."—*Bunhill Fields Register*, Lee's *Life of De Foe*, vol. i. p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> "The following extract from the registry of Aske's Hospital, which I believe has escaped the researches of De Foe's various biographers, may refer either to the writer or to his eldest son. It suggests several questions as to his life.

"1720 Daniel De Foe of St. Michael's, Cornhill, and Mary De Foe Webb, of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, were married, Mar. and 29, 1720, in Esq. Aske's Chapel, at Hoxton, by license Webb. from the A. B. of Cant. P. Henry Vaughan."

<sup>3</sup> "1770, Dec. John Joseph De Foe sentenced to death for robbing Alexander Fordyce, Esq., of a gold watch on the highway."—*Annual Register*, 1770. "Said to be the grandson to the celebrated Daniel De Foe."—*Annual Register*, 1771.

<sup>4</sup> "July 20, 1691. Mr. Peter Peeile of Ullocke, Marchant, being at Cockermouth, John Fallowfield, Mercer, said that King William was a rogue, and he hoped to see his head upon Cripplegate the next time he went to London."—*Depositions from the Castle of York* (Surtees Society) page 290, note.

Dr. Daniel Williams, an eminent presbyterian minister, leaving a valuable collection of books to form a public library to be "accessible to such persons as the trustees shall admit."<sup>1</sup> He bequeathed also money for its maintenance, with a part of which a site was bought in Red Cross Street, and a house erected for the books and for the librarian who had charge of them. The library, which was especially rich in Puritan divinity, was opened in 1729. A lecture, which continued for some years, was annually delivered to dissenting minister, in this library.<sup>2</sup> After remaining in Red Cross Street for more than a century and a quarter, the library was, about the year 1860, removed to Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

And now—for I will no longer abuse the patience of the reader—it is time to bring these slight and desultory chapters to an end. I have sought to interest my readers in the records of St. Giles Without Cripplegate, and have at least shown the importance of the parish in former days, and the worthiness—and, alas! the unworthiness—of some who lived and died therein. In doing this I have pointed out the sources from whence further information as to its history and the history of its people may be drawn. I will not linger over the conclusion, since I have already, I fear, lingered too long; but will say farewell to each and to all in the language of an old and well-nigh forgotten worthy—"Thomas Hyl, Londoner," as he loved to write himself—who at the end of one of his treatises<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Dr. Williams' Library in preface, 1841. Calamy's *Historical account of my Own Life*, vol. i. 356, vol. ii. 344.

<sup>2</sup> "I preached the first sermon to dissenting ministers in Dr. Williams' library," Calamy's *Hist. Account*, vol. ii. p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> *The Marvellous Government, Propertie and Benefit of Bees, with the rare Secretes of Honnie and Waxe*. London, 1563.

takes leave of his readers in these quaintly ordered but appropriate and solemn words—

“Thus gentle reader I have (I trust)  
fully satisfied thy desire in as many  
things as are nedeful to be knowen.  
And I commyt this little boke to thy  
gentle judgement. Yf thou mayst re-  
ceave any proffyt or commoditie therby  
I shalle glad of it, and yf not, yet favou-  
rably let yt parte from thee to others  
whose knowledge and experience  
is lesse than thynne herein,  
that they may gather  
such thynges as  
to them are  
straung,  
thoughe to thee well  
known before, and thus  
briefly I commit  
thee to GOD.”  
FAREWELL.



## APPENDIX.

### [ A ]

#### *Derivation of "Cripplegate."*

In Stow's *Survey of London* we read, "In 1010 the body of King Edmond the Martyr" was "brought in to London at Cripplegate, a place, saith mine author, [Abbo Floriaceus] so called of cripples begging there." This derivation savours as much of Swift as of Stow, for the etymological guesses of the worthy antiquary are far from being of value. Absurd as this etymology is, it is what is usually assigned as the origin of the name. A little reflection will, however, show that this derivation is an improbable, if not an impossible one. It must have taken a considerable time for the habit of begging at the postern here to have been so common as to originate the name of Cripplegate, yet we do not find that the gate ever had any other name. Again, as a matter of fact, we do not read that cripples begged at this postern more than at the gates of the City; for Cripplegate stood too near Aldersgate to have been intended at the first for a means of communication between the City and country outside the walls. The etymology must be sought elsewhere. Cripplegate was a postern-gate leading to the Barbican while this watch tower in advance of the City walls was fortified. The road between the postern and the burghkenning ran necessarily between two low walls—most likely of earth—which formed what in fortification would be described as a covered way. The name in Anglo-saxon would be *crepel*, *cryfele*, or *crypele*, a den or passage under ground, a burrow (meatus subterraneus,) and *geat*, a gate, street, or way, (O. Sax. *gat*, a hole; German, *gasse*, a thoroughfare, narrow road. See Bosworth's *Anglo-Sax. Dict.*) This is confirmed by the occurrence of the name in *Domesday*, where in the Wiltshire portion we read, "To Wansdyke, thence forth by the dyke to Crypelgeat." This place, a correspondent tells me, is now called Rainscomb, and "is in a hollow or combe surrounded by hills" (see Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, vol. v. p. 21), a hollow way, or what, if artificial, would be known as a covered way.

## [ B ]

WEEKLY RETURNS OF DEATHS in St. Giles' Cripplegate.  
From the *Bills of Mortality*, March 21st, 1665, to May 15th, 1666.

			No. of Deaths.	Of these from the Plague.
March	21 to March	28	82	0
"	28 "	April 4	29	0
April	4 "	" 11	80	0
"	11 "	" 18	18	0
"	18 "	" 25	28	0
"	25 "	May 2	18	0
May	2 "	" 9	24	0
"	9 "	" 16	25	0
"	16 "	" 23	28	0
"	23 "	" 30	21	0
"	30 "	June 6	28	2
June	6 "	" 13	87	1
"	13 "	" 20	26	8
"	20 "	" 27	42	6
"	27 "	July 4	98	82
July	4 "	" 11	108	49
"	11 "	" 18	232	114
"	18 "	" 25	421	238
"	25 "	Aug. 1	554	302
Aug.	1 "	" 8	691	356
"	8 "	" 15	886	521
"	15 "	" 22	847	572
"	22 "	" 29	842	605
"	29 "	Sept. 5	690	567
Sept.	5 "	" 12	504	411
"	12 "	" 19	456	378
"	19 "	" 26	277	225
"	26 "	Oct. 8	196	151
Oct.	8 "	" 15	152	188
"	15 "	" 22	88	67
"	22 "	" 29	56	23
"	29 "	" 5	89	22
"	5 "	Nov. 12	48	89
Nov.	12 "	" 19	84	23
"	19 "	" 26	28	17
"	26 "	" 3	10	2
"	3 "	Dec. 10	15	8
Dec.	10 "	" 17	11	8
"	17 "	" 24	19	7

Yearly report ending 19th Dec., 1665...3,069 ... 4,888

[ B—continued. ]

				No. of Deaths.	Of these from the Plague.
1665, Dec.	19 to Dec.	26	...	16	3
"	26 ,, Jan.	2	...	7	1
1666, Jan.	2 ,,	9	...	11	4
"	9 ,,	16	...	17	3
"	16 ,,	23	...	18	5
"	23 ,,	30	...	12	2
"	30 ,, Feb.	6	...	16	1
Feb.	6 ,,	13	...	9	3
"	13 ,,	20	...	10	2
"	20 ,,	27	...	7	1
"	27 ,, March	6	...	15	1
March	6 ,,	13	...	9	1
"	13 ,,	20	...	11	0
"	20 ,,	27	...	16	0
"	27 ,, April	8	...	5	0
April	8 ,,	10	...	13	1
"	10 ,,	17	...	7	0
"	17 ,,	24	...	15	1
"	24 ,, May	1	...	14	2
May	1 ,,	8	...	12	0
"	8 ,,	15	...	6	1
Yearly report ending Dec., 1666				776	47

[ B ]

NUMBER OF BURIALS DURING PLAGUE YEARS AND AT EACH YEAR BEFORE AND AFTER, ARRANGED MONTHLY.

	1562.	1563.	1564.	1592.	1593.	1594.	1602.	1603.	1604.	1625.	1626.	1635.	1636.	1637.	1640.	1641.	1642.	1664.	1665.	1666.
March	14	13	7	22	69	13	42	35	38	48	68	30	65	51	101	83	76	131	131	50
April.	11	9	3	27	75	16	31	29	28	45	83	35	51	50	79	61	55	129	108	52
May..	8	13	6	28	90	20	33	46	29	50	93	35	53	71	73	66	76	103	103	48
June..	14	24	9	29	106	21	28	79	13	39	292	35	63	93	87	50	41	89	191	33
July..	14	117	3	36	245	13	33	594	25	63	1120	20	57	88	93	70	47	127	1346	74
Aug ..	10	256	3	53	407	32	36	1059	26	106	1260	55	65	228	61	98	71	99	3556	74
Sept..	14	409	10	158	355	23	35	676	37	142	361	65	52	602	53	121	81	110	1757	92
Oct...	9	196	8	151	143	22	30	199	26	103	126	55	71	600	43	88	112	105	412	94
Nov ..	23	49	9	102	74	22	23	65	23	68	54	35	67	367	67	82	69	109	127	91
Dec...	28	46	4	69	31	17	28	30	26	61	38	37	57	139	74	105	70	111	57	84
Jan...	4	17	20	71	29	23	33	37	26	46	39	61	60	121	66	57	86	128	65	136
Feb...	10	13	7	57	24	36	33	30	15	60	36	27	62	81	48	76	66	123	43	81

[ C ]

## RETURNS OF BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES &amp; BURIALS,

*Extracted from the Register Books of St. Giles Cripplegate.*  
1561—1700.

Year.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials
1561	180	56	159
1562	171	61	159
1563	180	75	1162
1564	128	62	89
1565	108	52	99
1566	111	48	91
1567	128	44	93
1568	187	44	142
1569	181	50	281
1570	149	62	518
1571	143	65	172
1572	164	58	120
1573	166	63	268
1574	164	79	441
1575	185	92	286
1576	217	50	189
1577	232	81	425
1578	204	64	518
1579	203	87	225
1580	241	83	186
1581	251	90	502
1582	255	72	536
1583	267	91	361
1584	265	89	283
1585	281	86	218
1586	271	58	238
1587	234	76	348
1588	279	99	248
1589	295	93	255
1590	324	106	311
1591	287	86	310
1592	267	102	803
1593	241	145	1648
1594	335	102	258
1595	228	74	226
1596	271	79	305
1597	263	88	460
1598	294	112	322
1599	346	105	329
1600	326	102	352
1601	337	102	332



[ C—continued. ]

Year.		Baptisms.		Marriages.		Burials.
1602	...	848	...	115	...	885
1602	...	886	...	208	...	2879
1604	...	899	...	188	...	812
1605	...	419	...	157	...	468
1606	...	464	...	127	...	522
1607	...	484	...	186	...	570
1608	...	488	...	129	...	882
1609	...	416	...	149	...	819
1610	...	481	...	148	...	688
1611	...	447	...	158	...	522
1612	...	406	...	128	...	522
1613	...	472	...	122	...	559
1614	...	481	...	114	...	496
1615	...	482	...	125	...	506
1616	...	481	...	181	...	502
1617	...	528	...	147	...	600
1618	...	535	...	169	...	676
1619	...	544	...	188	...	556
1620	...	554	...	155	...	564
1621	...	511	...	114	...	588
1622	...	580	...	122	...	649
1623	...	505	...	145	...	647
1624	...	519	...	158	...	881
1625	...	395	...	198	...	3570*
1626	...	465	...	255	...	490
1627	...	476	...	220	...	484
1628	...	610	...	175	...	626
1629	...	668	...	177	...	582
1630	...	655	...	110	...	665
1631	...	574	...	180	...	588
1632	...	678	...	171	...	613
1633	...	699	...	165	...	561
1634	...	738	...	155	...	712
1635	...	718	...	176	...	828
1636	...	701	...	135	...	2491
1637	...	737	...	213	...	845
1638	...	743	...	177	...	894
1639	...	781	...	189	...	772
1640	...	886	...	201	...	957
1641	...	784	...	182	...	1650
1642	...	828	...	137	...	850
1643	...	664	...	128	...	986

\* In this year a leaf has been lost from the Register book, containing burials for 29th, 30th, and 31st July, and 1st of August; also of baptisms and marriages for August,

[ C—continued. ]

Year.	Baptisms.	Marriages.	Burials.
1647	569	108	944
1648	585	76	729
1649	560	77	776
1650	572	89	666
1651	610	91	814
1652	670	115	973
1653	641	141	889
1654	649	164	1089
1655	749	140	889
1656	697	117	1140
1657	757	101	961
1658	604	157	1170
1659	576	116	1200
1660	576	198	1023
1661	702	151	1353
1662	662	187	1032
1663	790	114	1107
1664	802	119	1364
1665	542	89	7896
1666	810	83	909
1667	840	47	1483
1668	882	47	1567
1669	1026	48	1671
1670	988	36	1508
1671	992	36	1273
1672	899	83	1251
1673	893	26	1239
1674	719	14	1314
1675	853	21	1093
1676	839	30	1366
1677	881	29	1288
1678	866	32	1387
1679	889	29	1467
1680	851	28	1497
1681	864	26	1577
1682	997	39	1263
1683	939	40	1471
1684	862	21	1487
1685	940	23	1540
1686	898	54	1506
1687	1000	104	1586
1688	966	35	1406
1689	862	37	1442
1690	797	34	1160
1691	893	27	1284

[ C—continued. ]

Year.		Baptisms.		Marriages.		Burials
1689	...	862	...	87	...	1442
1690	...	797	...	84	...	1160
1691	...	898	...	27	..	1284
1692	...	955	...	40	...	986
1698	...	798	...	26	...	1115
1694	...	791	...	25	...	1801
1695	...	754	...	51	...	1067
1696	...	764	...	98	...	1090
1697	...	670	...	144	...	1179
1698	...	715	...	159	...	1017
1699	...	750	...	158	...	1198
1700	...	801	...	148	...	1186

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